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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

UNDERSTANDING THE CONSEQUENCES OF INTERPERSONAL  
CONFRONTATION: THE ROLE OF GOAL PURSUIT IN  
MEN'S RESPONSES TO BEING CONFRONTED AS SEXIST

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

BY

DANA E. WAGNER

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## ABSTRACT

Research investigating interpersonal outcomes resulting from confrontation of bias shows mixed results. Some studies show that men expect to react harshly when imagining confrontation (Saunders & Senn, 2009), whereas other research finds that men often react well when actually confronted (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). The current studies investigated this inconsistency by exploring the role of men's interaction goals on men's goal-directed compensation and interpersonal outcomes following confrontation. In Study 1, I measured accessibility of three goals (liking, respect, egalitarian) after men either imagined or experienced confrontation for sexist or uninformed behavior (gender-neutral). An egalitarian goal was the most accessible goal when men experienced confrontation for sexism, supporting the idea that actual confrontation leads to other-focus. Further supporting the assertion that general and imagined threats lead to self-focus (Crocker, 2008), a respect goal was uniquely accessible when men imagined gender-neutral confrontation. In Study 2, men were primed with either an other-oriented liking goal or a self-oriented respect goal. I then observed men's self-promoting or ingratiating compensation following confrontation for sexism or uninformed behavior by a female interaction partner. Confrontation for sexism elicited immediate ingratiation from men, but neither confrontation affected self-promotion. Men's ingratiation also mediated the relation between liking goal pursuit and positive interpersonal outcomes. Together, these studies enhance our understanding of men's responses to confrontation.

CHAPTER ONE

OVERVIEW OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS RESEARCH IN THE UNITED  
STATES: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

“How wonderful it is that nobody need wait a single moment before starting to improve the world” (Frank, 1952).

In this famous quote, a young Anne Frank speaks to the power each of us has to proactively confront barriers in our lives and to make a difference in the lives of others. Her words are inspirational because she speaks so eloquently and optimistically despite her struggle as a stigmatized member of a war-torn society.

**Stigma, Threat, and their Consequences**

Even today, many identify with Frank’s desire to overcome social barriers. That is because the current status of intergroup relations in the United States also consists of an ongoing struggle for the traditionally stigmatized (Major & O’Brien, 2005; Pettigrew, 2007; Richeson & Shelton, 2005; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995; Wout, Shih, Jackson, & Sellers, 2009). Stigma is defined as a mark or characteristic that signifies one’s lack of social acceptance (Goffman, 1953). This “mark” may include a physical attribute associated with a specific social group; for example, skin tone, facial features, hair color, or even one’s weight, a scar, or physical handicap can signal one’s stigmatized status. According to Crocker, Major, and Steele (1998) “a person who is stigmatized is a

person whose social identity, or membership in some social category, calls into question his or her full humanity—the person is devalued, spoiled, or flawed in the eyes of others” (p. 504). Racial and ethnic minority group members and women carry the burden of stigma because their groups are continuously devalued in our society (Allard, 2008; Major & O’Brien, 2005; Pettigrew, 2007; Walton & Spencer, 2009).

Stigma frequently produces intergroup threat, which is the feeling that an outgroup’s actions, beliefs, or characteristics threaten the vitality of one’s own group (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The association between stigmatizing characteristics and feelings of threat become so ingrained in our social consciousness that, when interacting with stigmatized group members, we often make automatic assumptions about that person’s personality and abilities (Goffman, 1953; Jones, Hastorf, Markus, Miller, & Scott, 1984; Stangor & Crandall, 2003; Trawalter, Todd, Baird, & Richeson, 2008).

The exact nature of threat differs by group. Groups are associated with specific traits; those traits elicit different emotional reactions and action tendencies (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Jones et al., 1984; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000). For example, Blacks elicit fear and prejudice more than any other social group (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005) and people desire to move away from groups that they fear (Mackie et al., 2000). In fact, the fear associated with Black men has become so entrenched in the American unconscious that direct eye contact from a Black person captures Whites’ attention in the same way as other evolved threats such as spiders and snakes (Trawalter et al., 2008). Activist feminists, on the other hand, elicit high levels of resentment and disgust from people (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005), which produce desires to reclaim control and confirm the

current value system (Mackie et al., 2000). Thus, it is clear that perceptions of threat can result in negative expectations of encounters with others or even conflict between members of different groups (Hebl, Tickle, & Heatherton, 2000; Mackie et al., 2000).

For a traditionally stigmatized, or disadvantaged, group the consequences of stigma due to threat can be direct or indirect (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Pettigrew, 2007). Direct consequences include the effects of stress due to discrimination, which has implications for one's health, emotional well-being, and personal achievement (Pettigrew, 2007; Stangor, Swim, Sechrist, DeCoster, Van Allen, & Ottenbreit, 2003). For instance, stress derived from discriminatory experiences results in increased blood pressure and lower immune functioning for Blacks (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999). Women who report experiencing sexist discrimination report heightened mental health concerns, such as depression, anxiety, and lower well-being (Fischer & Bolton Holz, 2010; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001). Compared to Whites and men, Blacks, Latinos, and women in S.T.E.M. (science, technology, engineering, and math) fields are more likely to experience stereotype threat, or the threat of being viewed through the lens of a negative stereotype, which directly affects academic achievement potential (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Walton & Spencer, 2009). However, when the threat of being stereotyped is removed, students of color and women equal or outperform Whites and men on academic outcome measures (Walton & Spencer, 2009).

Indirect consequences of stigma and threat include the disadvantages particular groups face relative to another group, which are manifested as poorer education and economic outcomes (Crocker & Major, 1989; Pettigrew, 2007). For example, in terms of geographic distribution, Blacks are by far the most segregated group and are less likely to

have access to affordable healthcare, good public schools, and grocery stores that carry fresh fruits and vegetables (KewalRamani, Gilbertson, Fox, & Provasnik, 2007; Pettigrew, 2007; Raja, Ma, & Yadav, 2008). In 2010, the median Black family income was only 63% of the median White family (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). In terms of indirect consequences for women, a national report issued by the United States Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics stated that in the year 2010, women were underpaid by approximately 20% compared to men in similar positions, while controlling for hours worked and other key factors (U.S. Department of Labor, 2011). While this wage gap consistently decreased every year throughout the late twentieth century, it has reached a plateau at 19-20% since 2004 (U.S. Department of Labor, 2011). Thus, the direct and indirect effects of stigma and prejudice have been documented in convenience samples of college students, as well as population statistics.

### **The Changing Nature of Prejudice**

Whereas "old fashioned" prejudice tended to be more obvious, often times today it is not always clear to a target or observer when and if a person is prejudiced or a behavior is discriminatory (Stangor et al., 2003). Traditionally, we think of prejudice as being manifested through overtly negative attitudes and behavior (Devine & Elliot, 1995; McConahay, 1983). When we conceptualize prejudice in this way, evidence suggests that intergroup relations have improved significantly over the last 50 years (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002; Dovidio & Fazio, 1992; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969).

Over time, however, modern constructions of prejudice have become more covert (McConahay, 1983). "Modern prejudice" reflects the notion that it is normatively

unacceptable to hold uniformly negative views about a particular group (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994; Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002; Monteith, Deneen, & Tooman, 1996). This is mainly because overt racism and sexism are considered socially unacceptable in most regions, so advantaged group members are often motivated to make efforts to correct their bias (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Trawalter & Richeson, 2006). We all hold the desire to be liked, so when social norms communicate that egalitarian behavior should be the standard, people are likely less willing to explicitly report bias toward disadvantaged groups (Devine et al., 2002). Indeed, there is evidence that concern over appearing prejudiced results in a tendency to either a) underreport one's prejudice or b) overcorrect one's bias and report overly positive attitudes toward a disadvantaged outgroup (Fisher, 1993; Sigall & Page, 1971).

Based on evidence of the changing, but ever-present, nature of prejudice, psychologists began uncovering the properties of implicit prejudice. Implicit attitudes refer to evaluations that are automatically activated by the mere presence of an outgroup member; they are manifested through behaviors that are more difficult to control, such as nonverbal responses (Devine et al., 2002; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). Although difficult to detect, implicit prejudice has negative consequences for intergroup interactions. For instance, Dovidio and colleagues (2002) demonstrated that although Whites' implicit prejudice is automatic and subtle, it is still detectable by a Black interaction partner. Specifically, they observed that Black confederates' ratings of a White partner's nonverbal bias was related to the White partner's level of implicit prejudice. In contrast, a more controllable measure in the form of Whites' self-reported friendliness was related to their explicit prejudice and verbal behavior, but not their

implicit prejudice or nonverbal behavior (Dovidio et al., 2002). Thus, implicit prejudice can trickle through and taint the quality of interaction even when it is not overt or intentional. This study illustrates why it is often difficult for targets to pinpoint acts of modern prejudice when they occur and that it is possible for advantaged group members to be unaware of their own bias (Stangor et al., 2003; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008; Vorauer & Sakamoto, 2006).

### **Modern Racism**

Much of what we know about stigma and prejudice in the United States stems from research on racial prejudice against Blacks (Crocker & Major, 1989; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1983; Pettigrew, 1997; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan, 1978; Tropp & Mallett, 2011). An example of a modern prejudicial belief against Blacks is Whites' antagonistic view that racism is no longer a problem in the United States (McConahay, 1983). This is not an overly negative attitude toward Blacks, but the belief that racism does not currently exist ignores the discrimination that Blacks experience on a daily basis and creates barriers to intergroup reconciliation (Crocker, Garcia, & Nuer, 2008; Shnabel & Nadler, 2008).

Although modern social constructions of prejudice are more ambivalent and covert than in the past (McConahay, 1983), it is important to point out that overt negative treatment towards disadvantaged group members has not been eradicated. For instance, Black students report experiencing a discriminatory event once per week (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003). So, while Black Americans have made great strides in today's society, we know that prejudice continues to be a problem. For social psychologists who are interested in the topic of intergroup relations, it is essential to

continue to investigate prejudice and discriminatory experiences, and to find ways to increase positive intergroup contact.

### **Modern Sexism**

Sexism is the term used to describe gender-based prejudice or discrimination (Fiske & Stevens, 1993). Women report experiencing one or two significant sexist experiences per week (Swim et al., 2001), demonstrating that even today the direct effects of prejudice are a real part of everyday life across disadvantaged groups. Similar to the covert nature of modern racism, modern sexist beliefs deny that women experience discrimination, are antagonistic about women's demands for equality, and express resentment toward women who are perceived to be given special treatment (Swim et al., 1995).

Like modern racism, modern sexism is complex because people can hold simultaneously negative and positive views about women, which correspond to hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs (Fiske & Stevens, 1993). Hostile sexism is what we think of as traditional sexism. It is characterized by negative and misogynist beliefs and expectations about women and their abilities (Glick & Fiske, 1996), such as "Women are generally not as smart as men" (Swim et al., 1995). Benevolent sexism is often more subtle and harder to detect because it involves overly positive stereotypes and beliefs about women that put them on a pedestal (Glick & Fiske, 1996). An example of benevolent sexism is "Women should be cherished and protected by men" (Glick & Fiske, 1996). It is not uncommon nor is it completely surprising that some women subscribe to benevolent sexist beliefs because it often directly benefits them through positive attention and deferential treatment (Glick & Fiske, 1996). However, benevolent



sexism also has negative consequences for women, including social sanctions for those who step out of their approved gender roles (Eagly, Beall, & Sternberg, 2004; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Ridgeway & Bourg, 2004; Yoder & Berendsen, 2001). Ultimately, the danger is that benevolent sexist beliefs can impede a woman's personal and/or professional growth (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

### **How Sexism is Different from Racism**

Although researchers have taken similar approaches to studying racism and sexism, there are differences in the way people think about and express the two types of prejudice. One difference is that people are often more likely or willing to overlook sexism when it occurs; the second is that people tend to think sexism is less of a problem compared to racism (Swim et al., 2001). There are many reasons for these differences. We are often raised in mixed-gender households, are witness to idealized media images of heterosexual couples, and interact on a daily basis with members of the other gender; these experiences contribute to relative comfort in the presence of mixed-gendered company (Eagly et al., 2004). Gender differences are emphasized from infancy, so men and women alike tend to accept gender-based stereotypes as part of human nature (Leaper & Brown, 2008; Rudman & Glick, 2008). Unlike race relations, where people from different racial groups tend to exist in relatively segregated areas (Pettigrew, 2007; Raja et al., 2008), gender relations are an ingrained part of our daily interactions (Rudman & Glick, 2008). Simply put, gender-based prejudice is commonplace in our society and part of the "status-quo" (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001).

Due to the clear health, social, and economic disparities experienced by racial and ethnic minority groups over and above the effects of gender prejudice (Clark et al., 1999;

Lillie-Blanton, Martinez, Taylor, & Robinson, 1993; Pettigrew, 2007), the intergroup relations literature has given significant attention to race relations over the years (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Pettigrew, 1998; Stephan, 1978; Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007). As a result, there has been comparatively less attention given to the nature of intergroup threat in a mixed-gender context, the consequences of sexism, and how to improve gender relations for women in the social psychological literature (Eagly et al., 2004; Rudman & Glick, 2008). In the current studies, I investigate factors that influence social interactions between men and women when a gender-based threat is present.

### **Challenging the Status Quo: Improving Gender Relations**

Relative to women, men are considered to be the advantaged gender group, and the status difference between men and women is upheld in many aspects of life. This differential status has negative consequences for women, especially in professional settings (Ridgeway & Bourg, 2004). For example, although more women are members of the American workforce than ever before, it has been a continual struggle for women to overcome stereotypes about their physical and intellectual abilities (Walton & Cohen, 2007; Walton & Spencer, 2009). Women in police and firefighter positions must contend with daily discrimination and sexual harassment simply because they have pursued a traditionally masculine career path (Allard, 2008; Yoder & Berendsen, 2001).

The literature on gender-based prejudice also paints a negative picture of interpersonal outcomes following confrontation for both targets and perpetrators. Men are the prototypical perpetrators of sexist behavior (Baron, Burgess, & Kao, 1991) so a large portion of research in this area has focused on either a) the consequences of women's negative encounters as targets of unwanted sexual attention and hostile or

degrading behavior from men, or b) men's reactions to being confronted as sexist (Dodd, Giuliano, & Boutell, 2001; Kaiser & Miller, 2003; Fitzgerald, Swan, & Fischer, 1995; Hyers, 2007; Kaiser & Miller, 2004; Pinel, 2004; Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Sinclair, Huntsinger, Skorinko, & Hardin, 2005; Swim & Hyers, 1999). However, much of what we know about gender-based interpersonal confrontation has focused on men's *imagined* reactions and perceptions of women who *confront others* on their bias (Dodd et al., 2001; Saunders & Senn, 2009). The actual consequences of confrontation after a sexist remark and its implications for mixed-gender interactions are not fully understood (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Mallett & Wagner, 2011). Although men expect to react harshly to interpersonal confrontation (Dodd et al., 2001), recent research has found that outcomes can be quite positive (Mallett & Wagner, 2011).

### **Confronting Prejudice: Current Studies**

A relatively recent goal within the social psychological literature on intergroup relations is to identify pathways to positive outcomes for members of disadvantaged groups (Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008; Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008; Swart & Turner, 2011; Tropp & Mallett, 2011; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Interpersonal confrontation is associated with a host of positive outcomes for targets and biased perpetrators (Czopp et al., 2006; Mallett & Wagner, 2011; Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Hill, 2006; Wellman, Czopp, & Geers, 2009), so it is a potential mechanism through which women can proactively contend with sexism in their everyday lives. Because women represent more than half of the world's population, it is important to find ways to increase positive outcomes for women.

The current studies explore the nuances of Anne Frank's message, that it is possible for an individual to affect change in his or her social world, through an examination of the consequences of confronting sexism. Specifically, two studies test the mechanisms that lead to positive interpersonal outcomes for male and female interaction partners following a confrontation from the female partner. This research contributes to an emerging body of literature that seeks to improve intergroup relations in the twenty-first century (Tropp & Mallett, 2011).

## CHAPTER TWO

### INTERPERSONAL CONFRONTATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

In her autobiography *Bossypants*, Tina Fey, who served as the first female head-writer of *Saturday Night Live* and Executive Producer of a primetime television show, explains that the book's name comes from a surprisingly common question she receives, "Is it uncomfortable for you to be the person in charge?" She puts a humorous spin on her reaction to this seemingly harmless but obviously sexist inquiry by contemplating whether anyone ever approaches Donald Trump to ask, "Gosh, Mr. Trump, is it awkward for you to be the boss of all these people?" (Fey, 2011, p. 5). Fey's response is common. Although she astutely identifies the inherent bias against female executives, she chooses to respond unassertively and does not confront the perpetrators. Later, she admits that this is her usual response to sexism in her field, to "ignore it and move on" (Fey, 2011, p. 144).

Interpersonal confrontation describes the process of pointing out another person's incorrect or biased statements or actions. For instance, one may confront a co-worker who makes a statement about "Blacks who take advantage of the welfare system", a friend who says he agrees with his precinct's decision not to hire a woman police officer, or even a well-meaning stranger who assumes that is uncomfortable for a woman to be in a position of power. Women report experiencing sexist incidents about twice per week

(Swim et al., 2001), but the most common responses to a sexist remark are unassertive, such as a joke or indirect sarcastic comment, an exclamation of surprise, leaving the situation, laughing, going along with the perpetrator, or simply ignoring the biased statements (Hyers, 2007; Swim & Hyers, 1999). In contrast, an assertive confrontational response includes directly pointing out the bias, questioning the perpetrator's intentions, shaking one's head, or rolling one's eyes (Hyers, 2007).

Research shows that, although women often expect to assertively confront sexism, they rarely do so (Swim & Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). To test the nature of women's expected versus actual responses to sexism, Woodzicka and LaFrance (2001) asked women to imagine they were taking part in a sexually harassing interview. Sixteen percent of the women said they would react to the sexually harassing questions by leaving the interview and 68% said they would refuse to answer questions (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). However, when women were actually asked the sexually harassing questions, none of the participants left the interview and none of them refused to answer these questions. Similarly, Swim and Hyers (1999) observed women's responses to a sexist remark in a group setting and found that although more than 80% imagined having at least one confrontational response, only half of the women chose to publicly confront a man who made a sexist comment. Although most of the women who did publicly respond chose an unassertive response such as humor or indirect questioning, many of them also expressed a desire to respond more assertively (Swim & Hyers, 1999).

### **The Perceived Costs of Confrontation: Why Targets Rarely Confront**

So why is it that women desire to react assertively to sexism but rarely speak up? Perhaps for targets of prejudice the costs of confrontation tend to outweigh the potential benefits.

There are two main types of negative consequences of confrontation for disadvantaged group members; one is the intrapersonal psychological costs associated with being a target (Fischer & Bolton Holz, 2010; Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1993; Fitzgerald et al., 1995). For instance, women report ruminating over experiencing sexual harassment or sexism, feeling guilty or angry with themselves over letting the comments or behavior slide, and wishing they would have responded differently (Hyers, 2007; Shelton et al., 2006; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Also, sexist behavior and sexual harassment are not experiences that women like to point out in social situations because they can be uncomfortable, stressful, and can sometimes result in long, tedious legal battles (Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1993; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Larkin, Semenchuk, Frazer, Suchday, & Taylor, 1998; Piferi & Lawler, 2000; Stangor et al., 2003; Swim et al., 2001). One coping mechanism targets tend to utilize in the face of prejudice or discrimination is disassociating the self from the biased behavior, and downplaying or ignoring the emotional impact by choosing not to give voice to it (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Major & Schmader, 1998). When disadvantaged group members psychologically disengage from a stressor, it protects their self-esteem and overall well-being (Major & Schmader, 1998). Thus, the decision to respond unassertively could be partly explained by women's desire to avoid this array of negative consequences for the self.

A second cost of confrontation includes negative interpersonal consequences, such as being labeled a complainer or losing a job opportunity (Hyers, 2007; Kaiser & Miller, 2001a, 2003; Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Swim & Hyers, 1999). There is evidence that people like confronters less and have more negative views about them compared to targets who do not speak up (Kaiser & Miller, 2001a; Saunders & Senn, 2009). When Whites and men read scenarios where Blacks and women confront prejudiced behavior, they report respecting the confronter, but liking him or her less than if the target did not confront; moreover, confronters are labeled as “complainers” and “troublemakers” (Dodd et al., 2001; Kaiser & Miller, 2003). Thus, there is sufficient evidence that people expect to dislike targets who confront prejudice.

### **Benefits of Confrontation**

Research is beginning to explore the benefits and positive consequences of assertive interpersonal confrontation (Czopp et al., 2006; Mallett & Wagner, 2011). One benefit is that confrontation allows disadvantaged group members to cope when they feel undermined or undervalued (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Dion & Earn, 1975; Kaiser & Miller, 2004; Stangor et al., 2003). Indeed, confronting is associated with positive intrapersonal consequences (Hyers, 2007). Hyers (2007) asked women to report their experiences hearing racist, anti-Semitic, homophobic and sexist remarks. She found that, although less than half of the women confronted a perpetrator, those who did confront reported fewer personal emotional costs. Thus, confrontation may actually help relieve the psychological consequences associated with being the target of sexism (Swim et al., 2001).



A second benefit to confrontation is in its ability to change a perpetrator's attitudes and future behavior. Czopp and colleagues (2006) found that Whites who were confronted for racist behavior reported less prejudicial attitudes and were less likely to provide stereotypic descriptors for photographs than if they had not been confronted. Furthermore, there is evidence that targets of sexual harassment are often selected by perpetrators because they are perceived to be unlikely to tell others (Blackstone, Uggen, & McLaughlin, 2009). By speaking up, a target can potentially reduce the likelihood that a perpetrator will get away with the offense or commit a similar one in the future. Mallett and Wagner (2011) found that men who were confronted as sexist were more likely to identify gender-biased language in a subsequent task compared to men who were confronted in a gender-neutral manner (i.e., as uninformed). This shows that there are short-term benefits to assertive confrontation.

### **The Role of Belonging in Confrontation**

#### **Belonging and Targets' Decisions to Confront**

As Tina Fey describes in her book, she chooses to simply ignore sexism when it occurs, an unassertive response that women often use when faced with sexism (Hyers, 2007). Research that explores women's responses to sexual harassment and sexist behavior shows evidence that social constraints are a driving force behind women's tempered reactions to sexism; that is, the potential to be disliked is often what prevents women from speaking up (Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Swim & Hyers, 1999). This desire to avoid negative interpersonal outcomes is partly explained by the fundamental human need to belong and to be liked by others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

Research continually documents the strong motivation of the need to belong in human behavior (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010; Frey & Tropp, 2006; Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002; Walton & Cohen, 2007). Being liked by one's interaction partner could fulfill this need (Kaiser & Miller, 2003). As a result, women are likely to inhibit their intended responses to sexist behavior. Shelton and Stewart (2004) demonstrated that although women believed they would confront male perpetrators regardless of the social costs, they were less likely to actually confront when they perceived the need to make a good impression on a potential employer compared to when they did not need a job offer. Similarly, many women who do confront often choose not to do so in an assertive or harsh manner because they worry about the social consequences (Hyers, 2007). Thus, the potential to be disliked motivates women to avoid assertive confrontation of sexism.

### **Belonging and Perpetrator's Responses to Confrontation**

Social forces may affect perpetrators in the same way that they affect targets. There are times when perpetrators attempt to repair relationships and make efforts to get along with a confronter, even when they imagine that they will dislike the confronter (Czopp et al., 2006; Mallett & Wagner, 2011); this is likely due to the inherent desire to be liked and to belong. Czopp and colleagues (2006) demonstrated that confrontation was associated with a variety of positive interpersonal outcomes between a perpetrator and confronter during a computer-mediated exchange. For example, confrontation was linked to both apology and concern over offending (Czopp et al., 2006). Mallett and Wagner (2011) found that in face-to-face confrontation, confronters were not uniformly disliked by perpetrators. According to men's self-report and coder observations of

videotaped interactions, interpersonal outcomes of a confrontational interaction were equally positive regardless of whether men were confronted for their sexist language or as uninformed by a female confederate. Men also reported that their confronter was equally nice, regardless of the type of confrontation.

Interestingly, Mallett and Wagner (2011) found that some of men's responses to confrontation (e.g., smiling, seeking common ground) were related to positive interpersonal outcomes between the man and his confronter. That is, when men who were confronted as sexist tried hard to get along with their confronter, that effort paid off in the form of mutual liking. It was that mutual liking that then led to men's increased ability to detect sexist language in a subsequent task. The desire to be liked and to belong when faced with intergroup threat could be what motivated men to get along with their confronter.

In order to better understand why positive outcomes sometimes occur, it is important to identify mechanisms that can lead to a positive interaction after confrontation. The two major studies that reported positive interpersonal outcomes after confrontation utilized computer-mediated (Czopp et al., 2006) and face-to-face interactions (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). This is in contrast to past research that has primarily used imagined interactions where participants rate expected outcomes of a confrontational situation (Dodd et al., 2001; Saunders & Senn, 2009). Thus, imagined interactions can help us understand people's expectations, but there may be something that they are unable to reveal about the way a conversation unfolds in real time. In the present research I investigated which types of goals motivate men to engage in adaptive responses after being confronted on their bias. This research helps reveal the nature of

men's reactions to interpersonal confrontation and the conditions under which men might seek to make up for sexist behavior.

## CHAPTER THREE

### COMPENSATION: MAKING UP FOR SEXIST BEHAVIOR

Two co-workers are having lunch in their company's cafeteria. The woman is telling her colleague a story about a recent trip to her physician in which she had to wait two hours before seeing the doctor for a regular check-up. The man responds by saying, "I hate when doctors do that! Was he late or was the office just really busy?" The woman is surprised by her co-worker's assumption that her doctor is male. She points out his error by saying, "Well, yes, *she* was running a bit late. I noticed that you assumed the doctor was male. That's kind of sexist, don't you think?"

When men are asked to imagine this type of scenario, they expect that they will dislike their confronter and that interpersonal outcomes (e.g., mutual liking, quality of the conversation) will be negative (Dodd et al., 2001; Kaiser & Miller, 2001a; Saunders & Senn, 2009); however, when actually confronted in this manner it turns out that men do like their partner and interpersonal outcomes are quite positive (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). When imagining the outcomes of intergroup interactions, people make this same type of mistake in overestimating the likelihood that they will have a negative experience (Mallett, Wilson, & Gilbert, 2008).

One reason for this error is that we forget that certain social graces and positive interpersonal behaviors can help smooth even the most awkward encounters (Hebl et al.,

2000; Miller & Myers, 1998). The discrepancy between expected versus actual outcomes after confrontation occurs partly because men do not consider the effect that their own efforts to repair their relationship will have on the interaction with their partner (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). For example, in the scenario above, after being confronted for sexism the man might smile and apologize to his co-worker to compensate for his bias if he wants to smooth things over.

### **Defining and Understanding Compensation**

People choose to cope with potentially stressful situations, such as confrontation, in a number of ways. Coping is a term used to broadly describe cognitive, affective, or behavioral efforts to change either the situation or the self in response to a stressor (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Individuals are motivated to engage in coping when they appraise a threat to their physical or psychological well-being (Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1997). Threat appraisal refers to the cognitive process of deciding whether a particular stressor is worth expending one's energy and also whether one has the cognitive resources to engage in coping strategies (Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-Schetter, DeLongis, & Gruen, 1986; Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen, & DeLongis, 1986). Thus, these appraisals combine to influence the way a person responds to—or copes with—a potential stressor.

### **Compensating for Physical or Psychological Stress**

Sometimes coping is referred to as compensation. That is, one way that we may cope is to compensate for stress or loss (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997; Folkman et al., 1986; Major & Schmader, 1998; Miller & Major, 2000; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995). There are two ways psychologists define and characterize compensation as a coping mechanism. The first, the traditional definition of compensation, is the ability of individuals to

compensate for physical stress in order to adapt to daily living (Bäckman & Dixon, 1992). For example, individuals can compensate for cognitive or sensory handicaps that are congenital or the result of trauma. One classic example is Helen Keller, who was able to learn sign language to communicate with the world and eventually earned a bachelor's degree despite the fact that she became both blind and deaf at an early age.

The second way psychologists characterize compensation includes the behavioral and psychological compensation that people use to deal with stress (Bäckman & Dixon, 1992; Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1997). For example, a child can compensate for poor grades on an exam by adopting specific organizational techniques when studying or adapting his note-taking strategies (Compas, Connor-Smith, Saltzman, Thomsen, & Wadsworth, 2001). A recent widow may compensate for the loss of her husband by increasing her participation in knitting circles or bridge tournaments in order to expand her social circle (Bäckman & Dixon, 1992; Ouwehand, Deridder, & Bensing, 2007). Thus, compensation is frequently utilized to help individuals achieve positive outcomes in the face of potentially negative or stressful situations.

### **Compensating for Stigma and Prejudice**

Individuals can also use compensation to achieve positive outcomes in the face of impending prejudice (Kaiser & Miller, 2001b; Mallett & Swim, 2005, 2009; Miller & Myers, 1998; Miller, Rothblum, Felicio, & Brand, 1995). Traditionally, in the intergroup relations literature, compensatory behaviors have been ascribed to disadvantaged group members. For example, research with heavy women and African American young adults have shown that members of these groups will engage in compensation in order to contend with discrimination or to curtail the negative perceptions of a potentially biased

interaction partner (Kaiser & Miller, 2001b; Major & Schmader, 1998; Mallett & Swim, 2005, 2009).

In order to test the ability of compensation to avert the negative consequences of one's stigma, Miller and colleagues (1995) created a situation where heavy women were led to believe that they (and hence their stigma) were either visible or not visible to their female partner while speaking on the phone. The researchers discovered two important properties about compensation. One is that heavy women were motivated to act in ways that would increase their partner's liking for them when they thought that they were visible, even if their stigma was not actually visible to their partner. The second is that, when the women thought they could be seen and were actually visible by a partner, their compensatory efforts were successful. That is, they were rated as likeable by coders and self-reported that they themselves were likeable and attractive. This study, along with additional research, provides concrete evidence that compensation is often effective (Mallett & Swim, 2005; Mallett & Wagner, 2011; Miller & Myers, 1998; Miller et al., 1995). It leads to positive intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes for disadvantaged group members (Mallett & Swim, 2005, 2009). Research has yet to consider advantaged group members' efforts to compensate for intergroup threat.

### **Behaviors Associated with Compensation**

In an intergroup context, compensation refers to behaviors that are used to smooth over an interaction that could be harmed by a person's prejudice (Folkman et al., 1986; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Major, Richards, Cooper, Cozzarelli, & Zubek, 1998; McCrae, 1984; Miller & Myers, 1998). In the face of a stressor, a person may regulate his or her own emotions, engage in self-affirmation, or disengage one's self from the



interaction in order to protect the self from harm (Major & Schmader, 1998). These are examples of compensatory behaviors that are aimed at adjusting the self to the stressor (Mallett & Swim, 2005). One may also tell a joke, act in a jovial manner, attempt to get to know his or her partner, or even try to present a professional image of one's self in order to combat prejudice and elicit positive reactions from a partner. These are examples of compensatory behaviors that are aimed at adjusting the situation and the partner to the self (Mallett & Swim, 2005). Compensation most often results in behaviors that reflect one's desire to belong through ingratiating behaviors directed towards one's partner (e.g., acting in a friendly manner, making efforts to get along), but compensation can also reflect one's desire to be seen as competent through respect-seeking behaviors (e.g., self-enhancement, demonstration of knowledge).

There is some variation in the nature of compensatory behaviors that are observed in disadvantaged group members. We see that heavy women smile more often, seek common ground on issues, or ask their interaction partner for his or her opinion during a conversation in an attempt to receive better treatment or change their partner's perceptions of them (Mallett & Swim, 2005; Miller & Major, 2000; Miller & Myers, 1998). But some specific behaviors differ depending on the nature of the stigma. For Blacks, we see that compensation involves attending to one's partner's reactions, using social skills to seek information and regulate the tone of the interaction, and "code switching", or using more formal language (Mallett & Swim, 2009). These are all behaviors that can help improve a partner's perception of a Black target.

### **Compensating in Response to Accusations of Sexism**

My research takes a slightly different approach to the traditional conceptualization of compensation in that it focuses on advantaged group members' use of compensatory behaviors to achieve positive outcomes. Because men are the advantaged gender group (Rudman & Glick, 2008), we do not think of them as needing to make up for "stigma" during an intergroup interaction. Men may, however, wish to be seen as non-prejudiced and be liked by their partner (Czopp et al., 2006; Migacheva, Tropp, & Crocker, 2011; Moskowitz, Gollwitzer, & Wasel, 1999; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). In general, advantaged group members tend to want to avoid being seen as prejudiced during intergroup interactions (Devine et al., 2002; Klonis, Plant, & Devine, 2005; Plant & Devine, 2009; Winslow, 2004). Thus, it is reasonable to deduce that at least some men may want to take action to avoid being seen as sexist. That is, they may be motivated to change their behavior and demeanor in order to improve outcomes for themselves and their partner in response to confrontation.

The stigma associated with advantaged group members is the stereotype that they are prejudiced and socially insensitive (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002; Plant & Butz, 2006; Plant & Devine, 2009). When a man is aware of this stigma and is accused of being sexist by a woman, he could be motivated to engage in positive compensatory behaviors that will help smooth potential awkwardness. Indeed, in my master's thesis research, I found that men who were confronted as sexist engaged in more compensation than men who were confronted as uninformed (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). This is among the first evidence that majority-group members will make efforts to compensate when faced with intergroup threat.

The focus of my previous research was on compensatory behaviors that lead to liking between a man and his confronter. We see that men who are confronted as sexist engage in more compensatory behaviors associated with the desire to be liked than compared to men who are confronted as uninformed, a gender-neutral threat (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). I observed general forms of compensation that other researchers have used to examine the phenomenon, including self-reports and coded observations of men's general behaviors, emotions, and body language. There are different types of behaviors involved in compensation. For example, efforts to make eye contact, smiling, and generally trying to get along with one's partner should increase liking between a man and his confronter. In comparison, denying one's sexist behavior or that one made an incorrect response, justifying one's response, and being argumentative are respect-seeking compensatory behaviors that are designed to increase perceptions of one's competence.

Although my research seeks to explore men's efforts to compensate when they are confronted as sexist, it is unclear exactly what motivates men to take this extra step (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). It is important to try to identify mechanisms that lead to positive experiences after confrontation so that we can understand why it is that some confrontations lead to positive outcomes and others lead to negative outcomes.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### GOAL PURSUIT AND INTERPERSONAL CONFRONTATION

Goal activation and goal pursuit could help us understand why men sometimes respond more positively than expected to being confronted for sexist behavior (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). Goals provide structure and consistency in our lives (Gollwitzer & Moskowitz, 2007). Fishbach and Ferguson (2007) define goals as “cognitive representation[s] of a desired endpoint that impact evaluations, emotions, and behaviors” (p. 491). Although we often think of goals as explicit representations of our pursuit of particular paths in life—for example, we may express the goal to obtain a job, to quit smoking, or to obtain a doctorate in our field—goals can also be implicit. That is, we all hold “implicit theories,” or basic assumptions about ourselves and our world, which are manifested through our pursuit of particular goals (Dweck, 1996).

Motives-as-goals theory posits that goals provide meaning and purpose for our actions, which then influences the quality and intensity of our behavior (Covington, 2000; Elliott & Dweck, 1988). These implicit goals can be automatically activated in certain contexts. For example, if one’s goal is to be a fair and egalitarian person, one might be motivated to act in ways that demonstrate egalitarianism or one might make efforts to correct biased behavior (Moskowitz et al., 1999). Alternatively, if one’s goal is to be respected by one’s peers, one might be motivated to act in ways that demonstrate knowledge or expertise (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Crocker, Olivier, & Nuer, 2009). Thus,

goals not only drive our intrapersonal desires, but they influence the way we perceive others and subsequently the way we behave in social situations.

### **Interpersonal Interaction Goals**

When entering interpersonal interactions we are often motivated by one or more goals, including the need to belong, to understand, to control, to self-enhance, and to trust others (Fiske, 2009). These goals drive the development and maintenance of our relationships with others (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Crocker et al., 2009; Fiske, 2009). Much of the research on goal pursuit in intergroup relations focuses specifically on the needs to be respected and to be liked by others (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000; Walton & Cohen, 2007). Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick (2007) argue that competence and warmth are the primary dimensions by which we judge the abilities and intentions of outgroup members. Subsequently, the extent to which one's group is stereotyped as (in)competent and warm motivates one's own goals to be either respected or liked in intergroup interactions (Bergsieker et al., 2010).

### **Self-oriented goals**

Another way of conceptualizing goals is the extent to which goals are self-oriented or other-oriented (Crocker et al., 2008; Trawalter, Richeson, & Shelton, 2009). Self-oriented goals reflect the inherent desire to present a positive image of the self to others (Baumeister, 1982; Goffman, 1959; Jones & Pittman, 1982; Leary, 1996). When people are motivated by self-oriented goals they wish to increase positive perceptions of their ability, which includes respect, intelligence, skill, creativity, and efficacy (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). As a result of pursuing self-oriented

goals, we become adept at garnering the respect of others in various contexts. For example, in a job interview or on a college application, we are motivated to present ourselves in a professional or confident manner and act in ways that portray competence and intelligence (DePaulo, 1992; Leary, 1996).

Self-oriented goals are particularly likely to be activated in contexts where individuals perceive that their self-worth, credentials, or perceptions of their performance are threatened (Kunda & Spencer, 2003). Crocker and colleagues argue that when we feel awkward or uncomfortable our default reaction is to protect our ego through the pursuit of self-image goals (Crocker, 2008; Crocker et al., 2008). That is, when we feel vulnerable we want to demonstrate our knowledge and competence.

Self-image goals often manifest through respect-seeking behaviors (Crocker, 2008; Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Migacheva & Crocker, 2011). For instance, if one is concerned about appearing competent, he or she might pursue a performance goal, which includes using behaviors that attempt to gain favorable judgments of one's competence or avoid negative judgments of one's competence (Dweck, 1986). These include behaviors that reflect one's desire to be seen as intelligent and capable. Increasing another's view of one's competence could be achieved through self-promotion (Fein, Hoshino-Browne, Davies, & Spencer, 2003; Leary, 1996; Schlenker, 1980). When interacting with others, self-promotion often results in proactive responding to a question or challenge, confidence, and performance claims (Godfrey, Jones, & Lord, 1986; Jones & Pittman, 1982). Research has mainly examined the use of respect-seeking behaviors by disadvantaged group members because the goal to be perceived as competent helps counter the stereotype that disadvantaged group members are warm but incompetent

(Bergsieker et al., 2010).

Advantaged group members might also use respect-seeking behaviors if a confrontation threatens their position or performance. If an accusation of sexism activates a self-image goal, that may help explain why men imagine they will dislike a confronter and believe that interpersonal outcomes will be negative after a confrontation. In fact, when men think about being confronted for sexist behavior by a woman they expect that their default reaction will be to defend the self by either distancing themselves from their partner or demanding her respect (Mallett & Wagner, 2011; Saunders & Senn, 2009).

There is some evidence that self-oriented goals lead to negative intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes. Chronic self-image goals are related to a decreased sense of belonging for first-year college students, and subsequently increased feelings of distress (Crocker, Canevello, Breines, & Flynn, 2010). Trawalter and colleagues (2009) also argue that “self” orientation can lead to negative intergroup outcomes, including antagonism towards others or avoidance of outgroup members (Trawalter et al., 2009).

### **Other-oriented goals**

In contrast to self-oriented goals, other-oriented goals reflect the basic human need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). We all desire strong, stable relationships (Fiske, 2009) and are motivated to act in socially desirable ways so that we can fit in (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Other-oriented goals encompass this general need to be liked and to achieve positive interpersonal outcomes. Other-oriented goals have also been described as compassionate goals that promote acknowledgement of the larger social context and awareness of interpersonal dynamics (Crocker et al., 2008, 2008;

Migacheva et al., 2011). Indeed, “warmth” is a primary trait by which we are judged by others and that we use to judge the intentions of others (Fiske et al., 2007, 2002; Wojciszke, 2005). Judgments of warmth are characterized by other-serving traits such as benevolence, friendliness, helpfulness, sociability, morality, and deference (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). The warmth trait has been shown to manifest as the goal to be liked by others (Bergsieker et al., 2010).

One facet of the goal to be liked that is unique to advantaged group members is the goal to be seen as a moral and non-prejudiced person. Throughout the social psychological literature we see that advantaged group members are often motivated to control the outward expression of prejudice, to internalize egalitarian norms, and to suppress the activation of stereotypes (Devine et al., 2002; Klonis et al., 2005; Monteith, Sherman, & Devine, 1998; Plant & Devine, 2009; Vorauer et al., 2000, 1998). Whereas disadvantaged group members can experience stereotype threat, or the threat of confirming a negative stereotype about one’s own group (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002), advantaged group members can experience threat when they are concerned that they will be stereotyped as uncaring, cold, and prejudiced by members of disadvantaged groups (Plant, Butz, & Tartakovsky, 2008; Plant & Devine, 2003; Vorauer et al., 1998). These concerns are readily activated in intergroup contexts where there is potential to be evaluated by a partner (Vorauer et al., 1998).

Other-oriented goals lead to positive other-directed engagement (Trawalter et al., 2009). In an education context, we see that belonging goals are manifested through children’s increased willingness to cooperate, to comply with rules, and to help others in a classroom setting (Covington, 2000; Wentzel, 1994). Bergsieker and colleagues (2010)



found that in the context of intergroup interactions, liking goals were related to ingratiating behaviors. When interacting with others, ingratiation often results in the promotion of others' positive traits, conforming to others' opinions, and approach-related communication tactics (Godfrey et al., 1986; Jones & Pittman, 1982). Advantaged group members who want to be liked in an intergroup context want to appear fair, unbiased, open-minded, and to be seen as a good person (Bergsieker et al., 2010). In other words, they want to counter the stereotype of the socially insensitive advantaged group member.

Research supports the idea that priming advantaged group members with other-oriented goals can lead to positive intergroup outcomes (Crocker et al., 2010, 2009; Trawalter et al., 2009). Wellman, Czopp, and Geers (2009) explored how Whites' goal activation and goal pursuit affected their reactions to racist jokes. They found that explicit egalitarian goals increased the likelihood that Whites would confront a confederate who told a racist joke (Wellman et al., 2009). Migacheva and colleagues (2011) demonstrated that priming Whites with an other-oriented learning goal rather than a self-oriented performance goal increased positive, other-directed behaviors. Whites were instructed to adopt either a learning goal, "Focus on *learning about your partner*, her thoughts, ideas, and opinions" or a performance goal, "Focus on *presenting yourself* to your partner, your thoughts, ideas and opinions" (Migacheva et al., 2011, p. 105). They were then assigned to interact with either a Black or White confederate and to discuss either a race-sensitive topic or a neutral topic. Whites who were primed with an other-oriented goal and discussed a race-sensitive topic with a Black confederate engaged in more eye contact, averted their gaze less often, showed fewer speech dysfluencies ("ummm"), and fidgeted less than those who were primed with a self-oriented goal.

Therefore there is reason to believe that goals may explain advantaged group members' behavior during intergroup interactions.

Still, there are times when one's behavioral attempts to smooth an interaction or get along with an outgroup member can backfire. Advantaged group members can sometimes overcompensate for impending awkwardness or for potential bias (Monin & Miller, 2001; Trawalter et al., 2009; Vorauer & Turpie, 2004). That is, concern over controlling activation of stereotypes and prejudicial behaviors can drain one's cognitive resources, causing people to appear insincere, uncomfortable, and say things that can be construed as patronizing (Trawalter et al., 2009). Monin and Miller (2001) demonstrate that when advantaged group members are allowed to establish their non-prejudiced "credentials" they act biased in the near future. Specifically, when men and Whites report rejecting clearly sexist statements, like "Most women are not really smart," they are more likely to reject a woman or Black individual for a job that is stereotypically held by an advantaged group member in a subsequent task than if they are not given the opportunity to reject sexist statements (Monin & Miller, 2001). One explanation of this phenomenon is that the goal to be seen as egalitarian was fulfilled with the first task, so participants were less vigilant about trying to appear non-prejudiced later. If men perceive that egalitarian goals have already been achieved within the context of the conversation, they may not be inclined to repair outcomes after being confronted as sexist.

### **Self versus Other-Oriented Goal Pursuit in Intergroup Contexts**

Competing goals to protect the self (self-oriented goals) or to protect interpersonal outcomes (other-oriented goals) could help explain men's reactions to confrontation.

People often expect to react to self-concept threat with actions that enhance the self, such as earning respect and being seen as competent (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Migacheva et al., 2011). Although people expect to react to more general threats with self-oriented goal pursuit (Crocker, 2008), other-oriented goals are often at the forefront in social situations due to the pervasive desire to be liked (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Baumeister, 1982; Shelton & Stewart, 2004). Other-oriented goals are aimed at enhancing the social interaction or achieving a partner's positive regard by being seen as moral and being liked by others (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Wojciszke, 2005).

The Stereotype Content Model (Fiske et al., 2002) suggests that, for advantaged group members, a liking goal could be more accessible than a respect goal. As advantaged group members, men are typically seen as high in competence but low in warmth, thus respected but disliked by outgroup members. As a result, advantaged group members often seek to be seen as warm and non-prejudiced by disadvantaged group members (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Crandall et al., 2002; Vorauer et al., 1998). In support of this idea, Bergsieker and colleagues (2010) found that Whites who wanted to be perceived as warm and non-prejudiced were more likely to pursue an other-oriented liking goal, compared to a self-oriented respect goal, during interactions with Black and Latino partners. According to this logic, because a man's goal to be respected is fulfilled by his social group membership, he should be more likely to pursue a liking goal when interacting with a woman in order to fulfill the goal to belong. My previous research shows preliminary evidence that men pursue the goal to be liked and to be seen as non-prejudiced when actually faced with confrontation. Specifically, men are more likely to engage in ingratiating compensatory behaviors that lead to positive interpersonal

outcomes after being confronted as sexist than after being confronted in a gender-neutral manner (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). Thus, men's goal to be liked could help explain why confrontations can sometimes result in positive interpersonal outcomes.

Still, for some men, being confronted for sexist behavior may activate a self-oriented mindset more than an other-oriented mindset. That is, for some advantaged group members, a confrontation for biased behavior could threaten the value of their group membership, and thus their self-worth that is derived from that group membership (Major, Gramzow, McCoy, Levin, Schmader, & Sidanius, 2002; Major et al., 2002; Schmader, Major, Eccleston, & McCoy, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). If men detect a threat to their self-worth, they should react in a defensive manner consistent with a self-focus (Crocker, 2008; Crocker et al., 2008). For instance, when men pursue a self-oriented respect goal, a confrontation for sexist behavior could increase their desire to appear competent and maintain their status, and could increase men's antagonism toward their confronter (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Dodd et al., 2001; Major et al., 2002). Indeed, Czopp and Monteith (2003) found that Whites and men who imagined being confronted on their bias reported that they would feel less guilty, be less apologetic, and feel more irked if the confronter was an outgroup member (Black, woman) than if the confronter was an ingroup member (White, man). Moreover, research on imagined confrontation for sexist behavior shows additional evidence that men expect to react to a confrontation with self-oriented goal pursuit; they think they will dislike a female confronter (Dodd et al., 2001; Saunders & Senn, 2009) and have a negative encounter (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). Thus, some research suggests that there are times when advantaged group members might feel personally threatened by a confrontation from a

disadvantaged group member and react in a defensive manner. Men's goal to be respected could help explain why confrontation can sometimes result in negative interpersonal outcomes.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CURRENT RESEARCH

The current research investigates the role of men's interaction goals on the nature of interpersonal outcomes after men are confronted as sexist or uninformed by a female interaction partner. Research has not yet explored how the goals pursued by an advantaged group member affect the outcomes of an interpersonal interaction that follows confrontation by a disadvantaged group member. Currently, the studies that investigate interpersonal outcomes that result from confrontation show mixed results. Some research shows that men expect to react harshly to confrontation in that they imagine they will dislike their confronter and think they will lash out at her (Dodd et al., 2001; Kaiser & Miller, 2003). In comparison, other research shows that men sometimes react well to actual confrontation, are motivated to repair the relationship, and demonstrate short-term positive behavior change (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). I investigated whether interaction goals can help explain this inconsistency in the literature.

The current studies involve both imagined and actual interactions between a male participant and female partner. In my previous research I observed men's responses to actual confrontation during a face-to-face conversation with a female confederate (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). For actual interactions, I replicated this confrontational paradigm using an instant message format. Past research has found that using an instant message format is an effective way to examine advantaged group members' reactions to

interpersonal confrontation (Czopp et al., 2006).

### **Study 1 Hypotheses**

The first study investigated the extent to which three goals (i.e., to be respected, to be liked, and to be seen as egalitarian) were automatically activated when men either imagined or experienced being confronted as sexist or uninformed by a female interaction partner. The literature on interpersonal confrontation points to divergent hypotheses regarding the types of goals that should be accessible when men are confronted as sexist. For men who experience a confrontation, I expected that an accusation of sexism should activate men's other-oriented concerns about being seen as a warm person and about appearing as non-prejudiced (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Klonis et al., 2005; Vorauer et al., 1998). Specifically, in the actual confrontation scenario, the goals to be liked and to be seen as egalitarian should be more accessible than the goal to be respected. For men who imagine being confronted as sexist, the threat of being seen as sexist should activate a self-focus; that is, being accused of sexism should enhance their desire to demonstrate competence and maintain their status (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Dodd et al., 2001; Major et al., 2002). Therefore, in the imagined confrontation scenario, I expected that the goals to be liked and to be seen as egalitarian should be less accessible for men who are confronted as sexist than the goal to be respected (Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Moskowitz et al., 1999).

In comparison, regardless of whether they imagined or experienced the confrontation, being confronted as uninformed (gender-neutral confrontation condition) should be perceived as a general threat to the self and activate a self-focus for men,

thereby enhancing their desire to demonstrate competence (Crocker & Canevello, 2008; Dodd et al., 2001; Major et al., 2002). As a result, I expected that the goal to be liked and the goal to be seen as egalitarian would be less accessible than the goal to be respected for men who are confronted in a gender-neutral manner.

Regarding differences in goal accessibility between confrontation conditions, I expected that the goal to be seen as egalitarian would be less accessible after men are confronted as uninformed than after men are confronted as sexist because a confrontation for uninformed behavior should not activate concerns about appearing prejudiced. This is because a confrontation for an uninformed response is less likely to make one's social identity salient than being confronted for sexist behavior (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Migacheva et al., 2011; Wellman et al., 2009). Furthermore, there is evidence that men can react to confrontation with both self-focused and other-focused responses (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Czopp et al., 2006; Dodd et al., 2001; Saunders & Senn, 2009); thus, I did not have a definitive hypothesis regarding whether the goal to be respected and the goal to be liked would differ in accessibility according to type of confrontation. This study provides the first empirical evidence testing this question.

Regarding differences in goal accessibility between scenario conditions, I expected that the goal to be seen as egalitarian would be equally accessible regardless of whether men imagine or experience a confrontation for sexist behavior. Both actual and imagined conditions should activate men's concerns about appearing prejudiced. Given evidence that an actual confrontation activates other-oriented concerns, I expected that the goal to be liked should be more accessible after men experience a confrontation than



compared to when they imagine it. Finally, given evidence that imagining a confrontation brings self-focused concerns to the forefront, an actual confrontation should be less likely to activate a respect goal than compared to men who imagine being confronted.

## **Study 1 Method**

### **Participants**

One-hundred thirteen male students at Loyola University Chicago were recruited in exchange for credit toward their psychology course requirement or an \$8 gift card. Participant age ranged from 18 to 32 years ( $M = 19.54$ ,  $SD = 2.14$ ). Fifty-seven percent identified as White/non-Hispanic and 43% identified as racial or ethnic minority (e.g., Black, Hispanic/White or non-White, East Asian, South Asian, More than one race).

### **Design**

I utilized a 2 (type of confrontation: neutral, sexist) x 2 (type of scenario: imagined, actual) x 3 (type of goal: respect, liking, egalitarian) mixed factorial design with type of confrontation and type of scenario as between-subjects factors and type of goal as the within-subjects factor. Half of the participants were randomly assigned to read a scenario where they imagined being confronted by a female partner (imagined scenario;  $n = 55$ ) and the other half actually experienced a confrontation by a female interaction partner (actual scenario;  $n = 58$ ). Half of the participants were randomly assigned to a confrontation for uninformed behavior (neutral confrontation;  $n = 57$ ) and the other half were randomly assigned to a confrontation for sexist behavior (sexist confrontation;  $n = 56$ ).

## Procedure and Materials

Each session included one participant, who arrived to the study room in Coffey Hall where he was greeted by one of four female experimenters. Participants were seated at a computer and then signed the informed consent form.

**Type of confrontation.** To set up the type of confrontation, men either imagined or experienced an interaction scenario involving three moral dilemmas. The Moral Dilemma Task, which contains three dilemmas phrased in gender neutral terms, is designed to activate gender role stereotypes about three occupations: doctor, professor, and nurse. The only aspect of the scenarios that differed was the woman's confrontational response at the end of the third moral dilemma.

Following Mallett and Wagner (2011), half of the participants were randomly assigned to receive the *sexist confrontation* ("I noticed that you said 'she' when referring to the nurse earlier. Are you assuming the nurse is female? That's kind of sexist, don't you think?") and the other half received the *gender-neutral confrontation* ("I don't think that's a good idea. There's got to be a better way. Don't you think they should notify the patient first?"). Both types of confrontation are assertive and reference the thought-process the participant uses to explain his answer. In a previous study, male and female coders rated the sexist ( $M = 4.00$ ,  $SD = 1.93$ ) and gender-neutral ( $M = 3.67$ ,  $SD = 2.32$ ) confrontations as equally awkward,  $t(15) = -0.40$ , *ns*, on a scale from 1 *not at all* to 7 *very much* (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). More specific information regarding implementation of the Moral Dilemma Task is included in the "Imagined scenario condition" and "Actual scenario condition" sections below.

**Type of scenario.** The type of scenario, imagined or actual, determined the procedure for the first half of the study.

***Imagined scenario condition.*** After seating the participant at a computer, the female experimenter explained that he would complete two types of tasks during the session. The first task involved imagining what it would be like to work on a project with a partner. The second task involved identifying words. All further instructions were provided through the Inquisit computer program. See Appendix A (pp. 108) for the script experimenters used when interacting with participants to set up the tasks. Upon starting the program, men read instructions asking them to imagine they are the male participant in the scenario they were about to read. At the end of the scenario, participants answered two filler questions about the ease with which they were able to imagine the scenario. Appendix A (pp. 110) contains the scenarios that men read, which are adapted from Mallett and Wagner (2010), as well as the filler questions.

***Actual confrontation condition.*** Participants completed two types of tasks during the session. The first task allegedly involved interacting with another Loyola student, who was working remotely from the downtown campus. They were told that this task examined the nature of problem-solving using an instant message format, and they would work on a short project using this form of communication. The instant message conversation replicated the confrontational interaction that men imagined in the imagined confrontation condition. She then told them the second task involved identifying words.

To start the first task, the experimenter turned on the monitor and pointed out two chat windows on the computer. See Appendix A (pp. 113) for a screen shot of what the

instant message chat windows looked like to the male participant. The experimenter explained that one of the chat windows was with her, as she is the Study Moderator. She would provide various task-related prompts for him and his partner to complete through this chat window. The experimenter then explained that the other chat window was his interaction partner. In actuality, there was no other participant and both chat windows were operated by the experimenter; thus the experimenter acted as both the Study Moderator and the female confederate. See Appendix A (pp. 114) for the verbal script the experimenter used when interacting in person with the male participant before the Moral Dilemma Task.

The experimenter then told the male participant that, as the Study Moderator, she would be sending identical prompts and instructions to both participants. However, she could not view the private chat window in their conversation. This explanation ensured that the experimenter could stop and start the conversation at the appropriate times and could provide instructions as needed, but also adhered to the cover story that the participant was engaging with another student in a private instant message conversation. Prior to leaving the room, the experimenter provided the participant with a copy of the Moral Dilemma Task and explained that she would send further instructions to “both participants” over the instant message program. See Appendix A for the Moral Dilemma Task (pp. 115).

Once she left the room, the experimenter began sending messages as the Study Moderator. She instructed “them” to complete question 1 together, Participant 2 (the “female partner”) should take the lead on responding to question 2, and Participant 1 (the

male participant) should take the lead on responding to question 3. However, she highlighted that they should come to a consensus on their responses. Setting up the task in this way ensured that the participant felt responsible for his answer to the third scenario and provided an opportunity for the “partner” to confront him near the end of the task. The experimenter indicated that they had no more than 12 minutes to complete the task, she would be timing the interaction, and she would send reminders at 5, 10, and 12 minutes. Having a timed interaction helped keep the task moving forward and ensured that all pairs spent the same amount of time conversing for each task. See Appendix A for the Study Moderator chat script (pp. 117).

As it is important to control certain aspects of the conversation, but still allow some flexibility so that the interaction unfolds naturally, I developed a standard script for the experimenters to use when posing as the female participant. This was developed based on the stock responses that confederates used in Mallett and Wagner (2011). See Appendix A (pp. 119) for the female participant script for the Moral Dilemma Task, including each of the confrontations.

To prompt the participant to give his opinion about the nurse in the third scenario and provide an opportunity for the confederate to confront him on his response, the confederate asked the participant, “What do you think should happen to the nurse?” just before the confrontation. The chat windows were set up so that the participant was unable to scroll up to his previous responses to check whether he actually used biased language in the conversation (i.e., the computer did not have a mouse). This was important because, in my previous research, I found that only 80% of the men who were

confronted as sexist used gendered language during the confrontational interaction; however, during the debriefing all men recalled using gendered language (Mallett & Wagner, 2011).

The goal of this study was to measure the implicit activation of goals that come to a man's mind after he is confronted. Therefore, in order to prevent *explicit* expression of goals that could influence a participant's performance on the goal activation measure, the experimenter cut off the instant message conversation between the participant and confederate a few seconds after the confrontation. In other words, she "signed out" of the chat as the female interaction partner, so that it looked as if she was no longer online. As the Study Moderator, she then typed a message to the participant saying that there were "technical difficulties" and then entered the participant's room under the guise that the researchers lost the wireless internet connection at the other campus. She suggested that they move on to the next task while the issue was being sorted out.

**Goal accessibility measure.** Next, all participants completed a task that asked them to "identify a string of letters as a word or non-word." This lexical decision task served as a goal accessibility measure. Participants saw a series of letter strings on the computer screen and were instructed to sort them as quickly and accurately as possible by pressing one key if it was a word and pressing a different key if it was not a word.

Participants saw six words related to a respect goal (respect, status, competent, intelligent, capable, achieve; Bergsieker et al., 2010; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Major et al., 2002), six words related to a liking goal (affiliate, collaborate, like, friend, socialize, connect; Bergsieker et al., 2010; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Huntsinger, Lun, Sinclair, &

Clore, 2009), six words related to an egalitarian goal (fairness, morality, justice, equal, right, unbiased; Bergsieker et al., 2010; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Wojciszke, 2005), six unrelated words (come, scatter, transform, walk, adequate, blank), and twenty-four nonsense letter strings (e.g., aidity, blater, blerd) in a randomized order. In line with past research on cognitive priming, participants should be faster to indicate that a word is, in fact, a word if the concept related to the word is currently accessible (Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997). For example, participants should be faster to indicate that “respect” is a word if a respect goal is accessible. Latencies to the respect, liking, and egalitarian words were trimmed such that those under 300ms and over 2000ms were removed from the analysis. The three categories of goal-related words were averaged separately and then log-transformed to reduce skew, which is a common practice with response latency data (Wittenbrink et al., 1997). Lower scores indicate faster reaction times and therefore greater accessibility of goal-related concepts.

**Manipulation check and suspicion assessment.** To ensure that men thoroughly read the confrontations in both scenario conditions they were asked to recall the final comment that their partner made before the conversation ended with the following question: “Think back to the scenario that you completed earlier in the session in which you imagined interacting/interacted with a partner on a project. At the end, what did the female participant say to the male participant/you in the third moral dilemma?” At the end of the study but prior to debriefing, men in the imagined condition answered this question on the computer. Men in the actual condition answered this question verbally during the experimenter-led debriefing, just before the study intentions were revealed.

To assess the level of awareness regarding the study hypothesis, all men answered an open-ended item, “If you had to guess, what would you say we were looking at in the study? In other words, what is the hypothesis?” Men in the imagined scenario condition answered the item on the computer prior to debriefing. Men in the actual scenario condition answered the question in writing at the beginning of the funnel debriefing. These items determined whether or not it was appropriate to exclude cases from the analysis. In general, I found that no responses to either question warranted an exclusion from the present analysis. Furthermore, the pattern of results was similar regardless of exclusion criteria and significance increased slightly when all cases were included. I chose to keep all cases in the analysis in order to help maintain an appropriate level of statistical power.

**Demographic items.** Men reported their age, ethnicity, and race on the computer.

**Debriefing.** After men completed items on the computer, participants who imagined the scenario were given a debriefing handout that explained the purpose of the study. Participants who experienced the scenario were told that the internet was still “not working” at the other campus so they should move on to the debriefing. Participants were led through a funnel debriefing where they answered the manipulation check and debriefing items. See Appendix A for imagined scenario condition debriefing handout (pp. 121) and the actual scenario condition verbal funnel debriefing script (pp. 122).

## Study 1 Results

Study 1 examined the extent to which respect, liking, and egalitarian goals are activated when men imagine being confronted as sexist versus uninformed. First, to test



the extent to which the goal to be seen as egalitarian is distinct from the goal to be liked and the goal to be respected, I calculated a bivariate correlation matrix. This calculation should also reveal if any two goals are more strongly related than the others.

Table 1 contains the Pearson's  $r$  correlation matrix for respect, liking and egalitarian goal accessibility as well as the accessibility of unrelated words and nonwords. Due to the within-subjects nature of the dependent measures, I did expect each goal to share variance with the others and that those correlations would be relatively strong. The large correlation between the unrelated and nonwords ( $r = .72$ ) demonstrates the overall strong covariance between the measures. Additionally, the correlations for each goal pair are nearly identical ( $r = .85 - .86$ ). Liking and egalitarian related words covaried at about the same level ( $r = .86$ ) as respect and egalitarian ( $r = .85$ ) or respect and liking ( $r = .85$ ). This suggests that each goal covaried with the other two goals to the same degree, and that no one goal emerges as being distinct from the others.

Table 1. Bivariate correlation matrix with the five dependent measures (Study 1)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Respect	1.0	---	---	---	---
2. Liking	.85**	1.0	---	---	---
3. Egalitarian	.85**	.86**	1.0	---	---
4. Unrelated	.79**	.79**	.84**	1.0	---
5. Nonword	.84**	.78**	.79**	.72**	1.0

\*\*  $p < .01$ , 2-tailed

Next I tested whether the two patterns of hypothesized predictions for actual and imagined conditions are supported by the data. I conducted a repeated-measures ANOVA with type of confrontation and type of scenario as the between-subjects factors and type of goal as the within-subjects factor. Table 2 provides results of the omnibus within-subjects contrasts and between-subjects tests with corresponding  $p$  and partial eta-squared ( $\eta_p^2$ ) effect size values.

Table 2. Estimates for repeated measures ANOVA (Study 1)

Within-subjects Contrasts		$F(1, 109)$	$p$	Effect size ( $\eta_p^2$ )
Type of Goal	$R$ vs. $E$	4.68	.03**	.041
	$L$ vs. $E$	7.23	.008**	.062
Type of Goal X Type of Confrontation	$R$ vs. $E$	1.67	.19	.015
	$L$ vs. $E$	.01	.91	.000
Type of Goal X Type of Scenario	$R$ vs. $E$	3.90	.05*	.035
	$L$ vs. $E$	.72	.39	.007
Goal X Confrontation X Scenario	$R$ vs. $E$	.16	.69	.001
	$L$ vs. $E$	3.75	.06*	.033
Between-subjects Effects		$F(1, 109)$	$p$	Effect size ( $\eta_p^2$ )
Type of Confrontation		.03	.85	.000
Type of Scenario		.02	.89	.000
Confrontation X Scenario		.20	.65	.002

\*  $p$ -value is marginally significant; \*\*  $p$ -value is significant

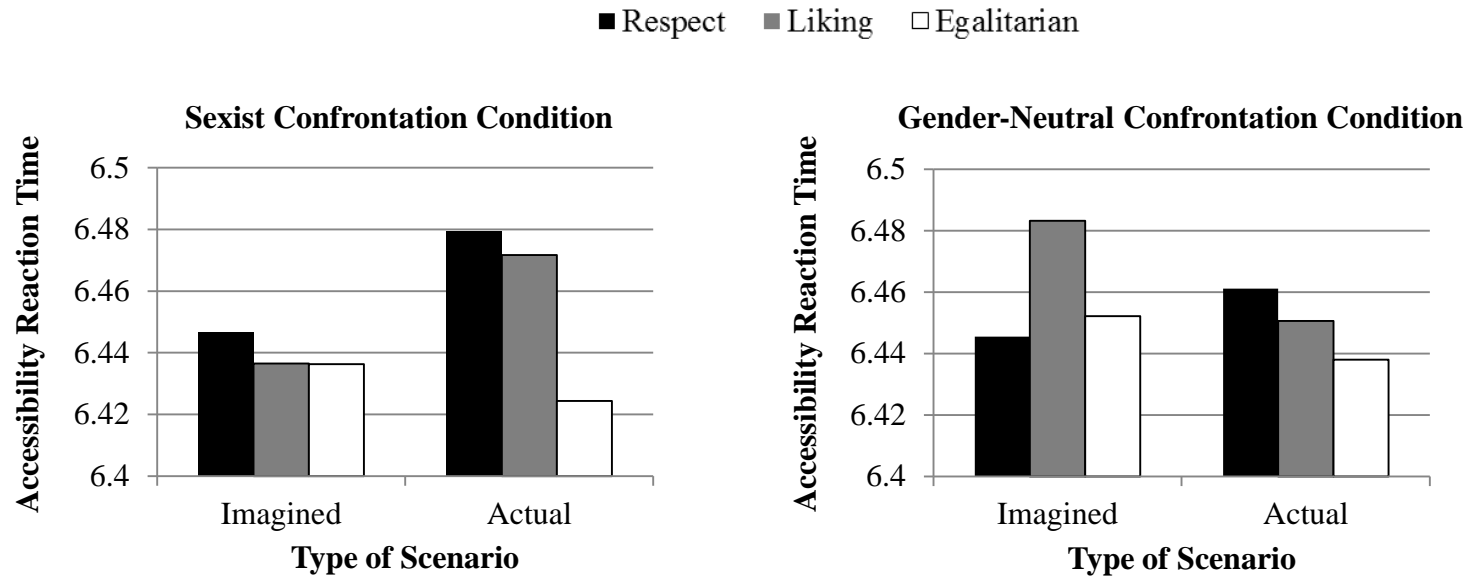
Note: “R” represents respect, “E” represents egalitarian, and “L” represents liking.

There were significant within-subjects main effects of type of goal for the two comparison tests. An egalitarian goal was more accessible ( $M = 6.44$ ,  $SD = .16$ ) than a

respect goal ( $M = 6.46, SD = .21$ ) and a liking goal ( $M = 6.46, SD = .18$ ). The accessibility of liking and respect goals did not differ. There was also a marginally significant two-way interaction between type of goal and type of scenario. A simple effects test showed that, for men who actually experienced a confrontation, an egalitarian goal ( $M = 6.43, SD = .15$ ) was more accessible than a respect goal ( $M = 6.47, SD = .18$ ) and a liking goal ( $M = 6.46, SD = .17$ ), *Wilk's  $\Lambda$*  = .91,  $F(2,108) = 5.28, p < .01$ . There were no significant differences according to type of goal for men who imagined a confrontation, *Wilk's  $\Lambda$*  = .98,  $F(2,108) = .93, p = .40$ .

There was a marginally significant three-way interaction between type of goal, type of confrontation, and type of scenario (see Figure 1). A simple effects test showed a multivariate effect for men who are confronted as sexist in an actual instant message interaction, such that egalitarian goal-related concepts were most prominent, *Wilk's  $\Lambda$*  = .90,  $F(2,108) = 5.76, p < .01$ . More specifically, for men who were confronted as sexist and actually experienced the confrontation, an egalitarian goal ( $M = 6.42, SD = .15$ ) was more accessible than a respect goal ( $M = 6.48, SD = .17$ ) and a liking goal ( $M = 6.47, SD = .16$ ). Respect and liking goals were equally accessible for men who actually experienced the confrontation for sexism. There were also no significant differences in goal accessibility for men who imagined a confrontation for sexist behavior, *Wilk's  $\Lambda$*  = .99,  $F(2,108) = .17, p = .84$ . In contrast, the simple effects tests also revealed a marginal multivariate effect for men who imagined a gender-neutral confrontation, such that both egalitarian and respect goal-related concepts were more accessible than liking, *Wilk's  $\Lambda$*  = .96,  $F(2,108) = 2.48, p = .09$ .

Figure 1. Marginal means split by type of confrontation (Study 1)



*Note:* Lower values indicate faster accessibility of the goal-related words.

Specifically, for men who were confronted in a gender-neutral manner and imagined the confrontation, both a respect goal ( $M = 6.45$ ,  $SD = .18$ ) and an egalitarian goal ( $M = 6.45$ ,  $SD = .14$ ) were marginally more accessible than a liking goal ( $M = 6.48$ ,  $SD = .14$ ). Respect and egalitarian goals were equally accessible. There were no significant differences in goal accessibility for men who experienced a gender-neutral confrontation, *Wilk's  $\Lambda$*  = .98,  $F(2,108) = .79$ ,  $p = .46$ .

Finally, I investigated whether accessibility of an egalitarian goal differed across the four conditions. Univariate tests revealed that it did not differ by type of confrontation for men who imagined,  $F(1,109) = .12$ ,  $p = .73$ , or experienced the scenario,  $F(1,109) = .09$ ,  $p = .76$ . It also did not differ by type of scenario for sexist,  $F(1,109) = .07$ ,  $p = .79$ , or gender-neutral confrontation,  $F(1,109) = .10$ ,  $p = .75$ . This suggests that egalitarian goal pursuit was equally accessible across all conditions.

### Study 1 Discussion

Overall, I found that concepts related to the goal to be seen as egalitarian were the most accessible compared to respect and liking, especially when men actually experienced a confrontation. The main finding was in regards to the three-way interaction. Men who experienced a confrontation for sexism had egalitarianism on their minds, whereas men who imagined a gender-neutral confrontation had both respect and egalitarianism on their minds. This suggests that actual confrontation and confrontation for sexism may lead men to think about fairness or appearing biased more generally, and that respect-related concepts are only activated when men imagine that a partner insults their intelligence. The slower activation of respect-related words, compared to

egalitarian-related words, after actual confrontation for sexism may help explain why men in this situation tend to repair outcomes with a partner (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). If men are more concerned with being seen as fair and moral than being respected, then they should be more likely to bridge the conversation gap after confrontation and pursue other-oriented goals in an interaction.

In general, I expected to find that the goal to be liked would be the most accessible goal after men experienced an actual interaction or were confronted as sexist. Although liking was accessible in these conditions, it was just as accessible as the goal to be respected. The findings suggest that it is the extent to which men think about concepts related to egalitarian goal pursuit that may actually drive their future behavior.

I did not have specific predictions regarding whether the goal to be respected or the goal to be liked would differ in accessibility according to type of confrontation. I did not find a significant two-way interaction that would directly address this question, suggesting there was no difference in this study.

### **Statistical Power**

Although I predicted between-subjects main effects and a two-way interaction between type of confrontation and type of goal, none of these tests were statistically significant. This leaves a question as to whether the study was sufficiently powered to detect these effects. An a priori power analysis indicated that this study should be sufficiently powered with at least 100 participants (actual  $n = 113$ ). At the conclusion of data collection, I conducted a second power analysis using G-Power version 3.1.3 in order to determine whether power was sufficient given the observed effect sizes in the

data. Tests of within-subjects effects and within and between-subjects interactions were, in fact, sufficiently powered. However, given the small effect sizes for the between-subjects effects ( $\eta_p^2 = .000-.002$ ), I would have had to recruit at least 30,000 participants in order to achieve significance.

I conclude that the statistical tests for this study should have been sufficiently powered to detect within-subjects effects and within-between interactions, but the between-subjects tests simply did not produce the patterns that I hypothesized. In general, the relatively small effect sizes across all tests suggest that the manipulations I used may not have been strong enough to lead to significant patterns in the data. It is possible that the instant message format attenuated the expected effect sizes demonstrated by previous research utilizing face-to-face interactions. Study 2 expands the actual confrontation scenario methodology, which enhances our understanding of men's responses within the instant message format.

### **Egalitarianism versus Morality**

I expected that either the goal to be liked or the goal to be respected would be most accessible for men depending on the type of confrontation or scenario. I expected that the goal to be seen as egalitarian would be secondary to either liking or respect, and that it would covary with the goal to be liked. However, I found that concepts related to the goal to be seen as egalitarian (i.e., fairness, morality, justice, equal, right, unbiased) were the most accessible of all three goals for men across conditions.

Further reflection on the nature of the confrontation manipulation revealed a potentially important artifact that was unintentionally held constant across conditions.

All participants completed a Moral Dilemma Task, the very nature of which should bring to mind issues of fairness. Thus, the significance of the accessibility of an egalitarian goal in the outcomes of this study might partly be driven by the nature of the scenario itself. Men either read a scenario about working on a set of “moral dilemmas” with a partner, or they actually completed the dilemmas over instant message. The lexical decision task could have detected men’s desire to be fair, moral, or unbiased when thinking about the dilemma questions rather than their desire to be unbiased toward their partner specifically. This could explain why words related to fairness and morality—conceptualized by previous research as indicators of egalitarianism—were relatively high and did not differ across conditions. Future research that extends this methodology and utilizes a different type of task would be able to empirically test whether the nature of the moral dilemmas affects goal accessibility.

### **Interference on Concept Accessibility after Actual Confrontation**

In the actual scenario condition, the confronter always signed out of the chat immediately after the confrontation and was not available for a response. This allowed me to measure the accessibility of concepts in men’s minds immediately following their partner’s confrontation. However, a content analysis of the chat text revealed that 48% of participants ( $n = 28$ ) who actually experienced the chat conversation typed a response to their confronter before the experimenter could enter the room. That is, the alleged interaction partner did not receive a response through her chat window, but he attempted to send one anyway. A chi-squared test indicated that men’s propensity to respond to their confronter did not differ by type of confrontation,  $\chi^2(1) = 1.10, p = .21$ . However,



the act of providing a retort—even if it was not delivered—may have interfered with the lexical decision task. If men responded to their partner, it may have changed the nature of the concepts that were accessible for them than if they had not responded to her. To test this possibility, I conducted a 2 (type of confrontation: neutral, sexist) x 2 (participant response: did not respond, attempted response) x 3 (type of goal: respect, liking, egalitarian) repeated measures ANOVA with type of confrontation and participant response as between-subjects factors and type of goal as the within-subjects factor. Identical to the initial analysis, egalitarian goal pursuit was the most accessible goal out of the three,  $F(1,54) = 9.58, p < .01$ . I also found a marginally significant between-subjects main effect of participant response,  $F(1,54) = 3.84, p = .06$ . Men who responded to their confronter demonstrated slightly faster goal accessibility ( $M = 6.41, SD = .14$ ) compared to men who did not respond ( $M = 6.49, SD = .18$ ). There were no other significant main effects or interactions,  $ps = .35 - .97$ . Thus, it appears that responding to a confrontation may have had an effect on goal accessibility in general, such that men were faster to identify goal-related concepts after providing a written response to their confronter. However, there is no evidence that the type of confrontation was a factor or that the act of responding or not responding to confrontation impacted the accessibility of a particular type of goal in this study.

### **Study 2 Hypotheses**

I conducted a second study investigating how men's goals influence men's compensatory efforts after confrontation and subsequent interpersonal outcomes with a confronter. Thus, men experienced the actual confrontation scenario from Study 1

involving an instant message conversation with a confederate. In addition, they engaged in a second instant message conversation with their partner about topics relevant to student life. Prior to entering both conversations, men were primed with either a respect goal to enhance self-orientation or a liking goal to enhance other-orientation.

Based on past research (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Crocker et al., 2008, 2009; Migacheva et al., 2011; Trawalter et al., 2009), I expected that priming self versus other-oriented goals should have differential effects on men's behavior and on interpersonal outcomes. For instance, a self-oriented respect goal should produce more self-promoting behaviors whereas an other-oriented liking goal should produce more ingratiating behaviors (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Godfrey et al., 1986; Jones & Pittman, 1982). Thus, I examined both goal-directed compensation and interpersonal outcomes. At Time 1, men were confronted as sexist or uninformed at the end of the Moral Dilemma Task. I examined men's immediate goal-directed compensation following confrontation based on coder ratings of their written responses. At Time 2, men engaged in a second, Topic List conversation with their partner about various campus life issues. I measured men's goal-directed compensation using coder ratings and a linguistic marker coding program. I also examined the quality of interpersonal outcomes at Time 2 using independent coder ratings and men's self-reports.

I expected to find a main effect of type of goal. Men who are primed with a liking goal should demonstrate more ingratiation in their written responses and experience more positive interpersonal outcomes than men who are primed with a respect goal. Conversely, I expected that men who are primed with a respect goal should

demonstrate more self-promotion in their written responses and experience more negative interpersonal outcomes than men who are primed with a liking goal. I also expected to find an interaction between the type of goal and the type of confrontation on men's compensatory efforts and coded interpersonal outcomes. When men are confronted as sexist, being primed with a liking goal should produce more ingratiation in their written responses and more positive interpersonal outcomes than being primed with a respect goal. When men are confronted as uninformed, there should be no difference in their behaviors and interpersonal outcomes according to type of goal.

I also expected that evidence of ingratiation immediately following the confrontation at Time 1 would be related to evidence of ingratiation during the Topic List conversation at Time 2. Likewise, I expected that evidence of self-promotion immediately following the confrontation at Time 1 would be related to evidence of self-promotion during the Topic List conversation at Time 2. I calculated bivariate correlations between men's immediate compensation in reaction to confrontation and their compensatory efforts in the second conversation to test the strength of these associations.

Finally, I tested for the presence of mediation. I expected to replicate previous research and find a basic mediational relationship between type of confrontation and interpersonal outcomes via men's compensatory behavior (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). However, if men who pursue a liking goal compensate for a confrontation, their interactions should go well and potentially eliminate differences according to type of confrontation. As a result, I also tested mediation between type of goal and interpersonal

outcomes via men's compensatory behavior. Finally, pending the presence of a significant interaction between type of goal and type of confrontation, I tested for the presence of moderated mediation. More specifically, I tested whether the type of goal moderates the strength of the mediated relationship between type of confrontation and interpersonal outcomes via men's written compensatory behavior (Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007).

## **Study 2 Method**

### **Participants**

One-hundred thirty-two male students at Loyola University Chicago were recruited in exchange for credit toward their psychology course requirement or a \$10 gift card. Prior to analysis, 14 participants were excluded because either there was a procedural error during the session ( $n = 4$ ) or during debriefing the participant reported suspecting that the experimenter was playing the role of the confederate or that the confrontation was part of the study procedure ( $n = 10$ ). The occurrence of procedural errors and suspicion did not significantly differ across condition. Excluding these cases resulted in a final  $n$  of 118. Participant age ranged from 18 to 29 years ( $M = 19.43$ ,  $SD = 1.89$ ). Sixty-four percent identified as White/non-Hispanic and 36% identified as racial or ethnic minority (e.g., Black, Hispanic/White or non-White, East Asian, South Asian, More than one race).

### **Design**

I utilized 2 (type of confrontation: neutral, sexist) x 2 (type of goal: respect, liking) between-participants design. Dependent variables include measures reflecting

men's compensatory efforts and interpersonal outcomes. Half of the participants were randomly assigned to be confronted as uninformed (neutral confrontation;  $n = 59$ ) and the other half of were confronted as sexist (sexist confrontation;  $n = 59$ ). Additionally, half of the participants were randomly assigned to receive a respect goal prime ( $n = 60$ ) and the other half received a liking goal prime ( $n = 58$ ).

### **Overview of Procedure**

One of five female experimenters ran each participant through the study by himself. Participants were seated at a computer and then signed the informed consent form. Participants were told that they would complete two tasks related to problem-solving. In reality, the first task primed the assigned goal and the second task provided the confrontation and included the goal prime reinforcements described below.

**Goal prime.** First, participants completed a sentence unscrambling task designed to prime a respect-related goal or a liking-related goal. Following McCoy and Major (2007), participants created grammatically correct sentences by rearranging 4-10 words and omitting one unnecessary word from each set. For example, if the list included “flew eagle the plain around,” participants would make the sentence “The eagle flew around,” recognizing that the word “plain” was unnecessary (McCoy & Major, 2007). In the *respect goal condition*, participants formed 16 respect-themed sentences (e.g., “Adam has earned his place”). In the *liking goal condition*, participants formed 16 liking-themed sentences (e.g., “Adam feels close to Jane”). In both conditions, participants also formed 4 neutral sentences (e.g., “Joe really likes jam). See Appendix B for all Study 2 materials, including the Sentence Unscrambling Tasks (pp. 125).

To reinforce the initial goal prime delivered by the sentence unscrambling, men also received instructions that were consistent with their respective goal condition prior to each interaction with the other participant. The Moral Dilemma Task (Time 1) and the Topic List Conversation (Time 2) each provided participants with a set of explicit goal prime instructions adapted from Migacheva, Tropp, and Crocker (2011). The *explicit respect goal prime* included the instructions “Focus on demonstrating your knowledge by clearly communicating your thoughts, ideas, and opinions.” The *explicit liking goal prime* included the instructions, “Focus on making a good impression on your partner by getting to know your partner’s thoughts, ideas, and opinions.” See Appendix B for the experimenter script used during the Sentence Unscrambling and Moral Dilemma Tasks (pp. 127).

**Time 1 Chat (confrontation manipulation).** Participants completed the Moral Dilemmas over an instant message program with a female confederate, which is identical to the actual scenario procedure described in Study 1 except for two key differences. First, as mentioned above, the instructions to the Moral Dilemma Task contained the goal prime reinforcement. See Appendix B (pp. 129) for the Moral Dilemma Task with goal prime instructions.

The second difference is in the way the conversation ended post-confrontation. Instead of signing out of the chat before he provided a response to the confrontation, the experimenter (as the Study Moderator) allowed participants to respond after the confrontation. That is, the Study Moderator ended the conversation approximately thirty seconds after the confrontation, allowing men the time to provide a written reaction to

their confronter. When a person types in an instant messenger chat window, it notifies the respondent that the other person is currently writing by displaying a message at the bottom of the window. The experimenter always allowed him to respond to the confrontation and then she typed a few filler words into the confederate's chat window to create the appearance that his partner was about to reply. However, she did not hit "send." Instead, the moderator ended the conversation by typing "Time is up. Please stop typing." Thus, the participant saw that his partner was about to respond back to him, but thought that the Study Moderator stopped her. This protected the cover story and also allowed me to document the participants' reaction to the confrontation. See Appendix B (pp. 130) for the Study Moderator chat text during the Moral Dilemma Task.

**Time 2 Chat (Topic list conversation).** Next, the experimenter entered the room and presented the participant with a list of four topics to discuss in the next interaction. Two of the topics were gender-neutral (food in the dining halls, study abroad) and two were gender-relevant (funding for women's sports, funding for the Feminist Forum; see Appendix B, pp. 132 for list of topics). The experimenter explained that it is easiest if one of them is "in charge" of the topic list conversation. A rigged draw always resulted in the confederate leading the conversation. See Appendix B (pp. 133) for experimenter script for in-person interactions with the male participant before and immediately after the Topic List Conversation.

The experimenter asked him to read the list of topics and said that she would notify him via instant message (as the Study Moderator) once the other participant was ready. She left the room and waited about three minutes before instant messaging the

participant with further instructions. Once he confirmed that he finished reading the topics, she informed him that other participant decided they would discuss food in the dining halls and funding for student organizations (i.e., Feminist Forum). Thus, every conversation had a gender theme. The moderator indicated that they had ten minutes to discuss the topics, and if they finished talking about those two before the time was up, they should move on to the others. At that point, the moderator provided a reiteration of the appropriate *explicit goal prime*. Similar to the first conversation, the Study Moderator indicated via instant message when 10 minutes started and ended, as well as a 5-minute reminder. See Appendix B (pp. 135) for the Study Moderator script for the Topic List conversation, including explicit goal prime instructions.

Throughout the second conversation, the experimenter, disguised as the “female participant” continued to provide scripted, neutral responses to the topics<sup>1</sup>. See Appendix B (pp. 137) for the female participant chat script for the Topic List conversation. When the ten minutes ended, the Study Moderator ended the conversation by typing “Time is up. Please stop typing.” The experimenter then entered the room and the participant completed a series of items assessing interpersonal outcomes in the second interaction as well as a single item that served as a goal prime manipulation check.

**Debriefing.** Finally, experimenters led each participant through a verbal funnel debriefing to probe for suspicion and to reveal the true study intentions. The debriefing was identical to the experimenter-led debriefing in Study 1 (see Appendix A, pp. 122).

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<sup>1</sup>I tested whether confederates acted the same way across conditions. Two ANOVAs revealed no significant main effects or interactions according to the number of words the confederate used,  $ps = .32 - .83$ , or the extent to which the confederate guided the interaction (coded “guiding the discussion” and “questions directed toward partner”,  $\alpha = .79$ ),  $ps = .18 - .70$ .

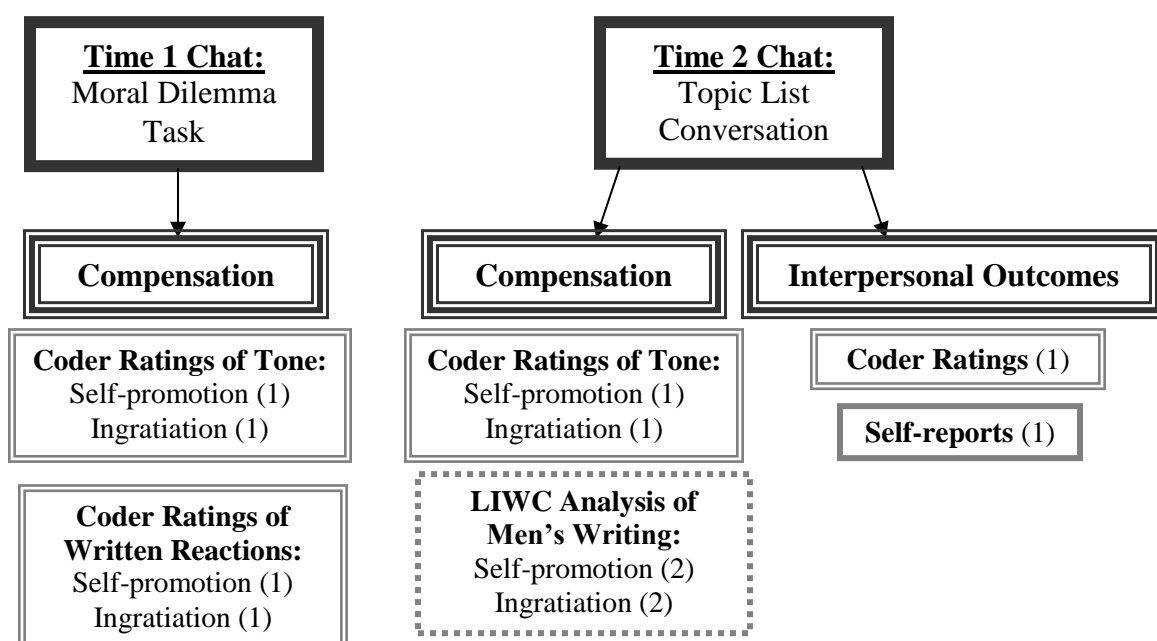


## Measures

I utilized three types of measures to assess men's immediate reactions to the confrontation and both their compensatory effort and interpersonal outcomes during the second interaction. The first type of measure relied on participants' self-reports and the other two measures were more objective in that they relied on the content of the chats.

See Figure 2 for an overview of the measures at Time 1 and Time 2.

Figure 2. Measures of men's compensation and interpersonal outcomes at Time 1 and Time 2 (Study 2)



Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of variables assessing each concept.

First, I recorded men's self-reported perceptions of interpersonal outcomes at Time 2. Because self-reports can be influenced by self-presentation concerns, especially when there is a potential to be evaluated by another person (Schlenker, 1980; Schlenker & Leary, 1982), I also constructed two objective measures that assess men's behavioral

intentions and emotional expression through analysis of the content of their written conversation with the confederate.

Thus, second, I utilized coder ratings of men's compensation and outcomes. Two trained coders, who were unaware of the study conditions, rated men's goal-directed compensation immediately following the confrontation during the Time 1 Chat, as well as their goal-directed compensation and overall interpersonal outcomes during the Time 2 Chat. Men's responses to the confrontation delivered during the Time 1 Chat were coded separately from the Time 2 Chat, and no coder was assigned to rate both chats for a given participant. This helped ensure that coders could not infer meaning about the outcome of a conversation because they also coded the Time 1 confrontation for a particular participant.

Third, I utilized an additional objective measure via Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC2007; Pennebaker, Chung, Ireland, Gonzales, & Booth, 2007), a text analysis program. The program searches for and identifies basic grammar usage (e.g., pronouns) as well as words that signify various psychological and social processes (Pennebaker et al., 2007). Words carry meaning; we use words to convey emotions, intentions, and even goals (Pennebaker, 2011; Pennebaker, Mehl, & Niederhoffer, 2003). LIWC produces the percentage of the total number of words for each word category of interest. I used LIWC to explore linguistic markers in men's written responses during Time 2 Chat.

I submitted all of the items assessing men's compensation and interpersonal outcomes to a series of principal components factor analyses with promax rotation. The

factor analyses showed that each of the three types of measures (i.e., self-report, coding, LIWC) revealed unique information about the chat conversations, and therefore should not be combined to create composite dependent variables. I tested self-reported, coded, and LIWC items as separate indicators of men's goal-directed compensation and interpersonal outcomes.

**Manipulation Check Items.** To protect the cover story and ensure that participants' goals would not be fulfilled by completing self-report items at Time 1, I primarily utilized manipulation checks that objectively assessed the extent to which the explicit goal primes and scripted confrontations were successfully delivered to participants. I utilized one self-report variable after the Time 2 Chat to test the effect of the confrontations on men's self-reported egalitarian goals.

***Goal prime manipulation check.*** I assessed the successful delivery of the explicit goal primes in two ways. First, two independent coders reviewed the Study Moderator chat logs and indicated the type of instructions that were delivered at Time 1 and the type of instructions that were delivered at Time 2. Second, to assess the extent to which men paid attention to the explicit goal primes provided to them in Time 1 and Time 2 chat instructions, men were asked to recall the instructions using a multiple choice question. At the end of the study, just before the debriefing, men completed the following question: "Please think back to the instructions you received before each of the two projects. Which instructions reflect those that you were given?"

a. Focus on demonstrating your knowledge by clearly communicating your thoughts, ideas, and opinions;

b. Focus on making a good impression on your partner by getting to know your partner's thoughts, ideas, and opinions; or

c. Focus on having a good time when you are communicating your thoughts, ideas, and opinions."

***Confrontation manipulation check.*** I also assessed the successful delivery of the confrontation in two ways. First, two independent coders reviewed the Time 1 Chat to a) ensure that the correct confrontation was delivered, and b) verify that the participant read the confrontation by confirming that he provided a response.

Second, I tested the extent to which men self-reported being concerned about appearing non-prejudiced. If the confrontation manipulation was successful, I should find a main effect of type of confrontation. Men should be more concerned about appearing non-prejudiced after a confrontation for sexism compared to a confrontation for uninformed behavior. To test this prediction, I assessed 3 items that men completed after the Time 2 Chat on a scale from 1 = *not at all* and 11 = *very much*: "I was concerned about offending my partner," "I put effort into treating my partner fairly," and "I tried my best not to stereotype my partner" (See Appendix B, pp. 139). I averaged the items to create an index reflecting *men's self-reported egalitarian goal pursuit* ( $\alpha = .45$ ).

**Goal-directed compensation.** I assessed men's goal-directed compensation, or the extent to which men's efforts reflect self-promotion or ingratiation, in the Time 1 and Time 2 chats.

***Goal-directed compensation in the Time 1 Chat.*** I operationalized men's

goal-directed compensation in the thirty seconds following the confrontation to reflect two levels of specification. First, coders rated 6 items assessing compensation at a more abstract level, reflecting the overall rejecting or accepting tone of men's reactions to their confronter (i.e., respect-seeking, rejecting response, certainty, argumentative/disagreeable, seeks liking with partner, and accepting response). Coders rated these items considering the thirty seconds following the confrontation on a scale from 0 = *not at all* to 2 = *very much* (See Appendix B, pp. 140 for coding schemes). I created two composite variables that correspond to the conceptual definitions of self-promoting and ingratiating compensation. I created *self-promoting compensatory tone in Time 1 Chat* by averaging the items "certainty," "respect-seeking," "argumentative/disagreeable," and "rejecting response" ( $\alpha = .87$ ). I created *ingratiating compensatory tone in Time 1 Chat* by averaging the items "seeks liking with partner" and "accepting response" ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

Second, coders rated 8 items assessing the specific written reactions that men demonstrate. I selected these items largely based on previous literature reflecting perpetrator's reactions to confrontation (i.e., denial, justify, tries to demonstrate competence, antagonize, surprise, apology, expresses concern over offending partner/getting along, and eases tension; Czopp et al., 2006; Mallett & Wagner, 2011). Coders rated these items after considering men's specific written responses to their confronter in the thirty seconds following the confrontation on a scale from 0 = *not at all* to 2 = *very much* (See Appendix B, pp. 140 for coding schemes). I submitted all of the items to a factor analysis with promax rotation; as expected, two factors emerged explaining 56% of the variance in men's behavioral reactions. Additionally, all items

loaded above .58. I created *self-promoting reactions in Time 1 Chat* by averaging the items “denial,” “justify,” “tries to demonstrate competence,” and “antagonize” ( $\alpha = .86$ ). I created *ingratiating reactions in Time 1 Chat* by averaging the items “surprise,” “apology,” “expresses concern over offending partner/getting along,” and “eases tension” ( $\alpha = .90$ ).

***Goal-directed compensation in Time 2 Chat.*** Similar to Time 1, I operationalized men’s goal-directed compensation in the Time 2 chat to reflect two levels of specification. First, coders rated 6 items assessing compensation at a more abstract level, reflecting the overall rejecting or accepting tone of men’s writing in the context of the two-way conversation (i.e., respect-seeking, rejecting, certainty, argumentative/disagreeable, seeks liking with partner, and accepting). In terms of overall goal-directed tone, coders rated 6 items reflecting the compensatory tone of men’s writing in the Topic List conversation on a scale from 0 = *not at all* to 2 = *very much* (See Appendix B, pp. 140 for coding schemes). I created two composite variables that reflect conceptual definitions of self-promoting and ingratiating compensation. I created *self-promoting compensatory tone in Time 2 Chat* by averaging the items “certainty,” “respect-seeking,” “argumentative/disagreeable,” and “rejecting response” ( $\alpha = .79$ ). I created *ingratiating compensatory tone in Time 2 Chat* by averaging the items “seeks liking with partner” and “accepting response” ( $\alpha = .80$ ).

Second, I utilized LIWC to analyze the specific words that men used in the Time 2 Chat. I selected several categories of interest for this study, which are based on research that has linked these categories of words to respect or liking-related behaviors

and intentions. In terms of men's use of particular words at Time 2 Chat, LIWC produces word counts on a scale from 0-100% of total words, with the mode of a data set often being less than 10%. Therefore, I standardized all of the items so that the values of the composite variables were not inflated during reverse-scoring.

Table 3. Four LIWC Factors Reflecting Men's Self-promoting and Ingratiating Compensation in Time 2 Chat (Study 2)

Factor (Cronbach's $\alpha$ )	Meaning	LIWC Categories
<b>Self-promoting Compensation in Time 2 Chat</b>		
Task engagement words ( $\alpha = .74$ )	Men put thought into the task prompts.	negations (e.g., no, not, never), exclusion words (e.g., just, but, except), tentativeness (e.g., perhaps, apparently, almost), and cognitive processes (e.g., accept, idea, decide)
Self-focused words ( $\alpha = .51$ )	Men put effort into explaining their own point of view.	first person singular (i.e., I), feeling words (e.g., feel, grab, press), and insight words (e.g., define, solve, contemplate).
<b>Ingratiating Compensation in Time 2 Chat</b>		
Emotional engagement words ( $\alpha = .71$ )	Men attempted to connect with their partner or connect to the topics.	positive emotion words (e.g., love, nice, sweet), negative emotion words (e.g., hurt, ugly, nasty), certainty words (e.g., always, never), and affective processes (e.g., support, fight, ideal)
Other-focused words ( $\alpha = .60$ )	Men were concerned about their partner's opinion and agreed a lot; men provided less complex contributions to the task.	question marks, use of 2 <sup>nd</sup> person singular (i.e., you), assent words (e.g., agree, OK); reverse-scored achievement words (e.g., in, hero), inclusive forms (e.g., and, with, include), and big words (i.e., words longer than six letters)

I submitted the standardized items reflecting the categories of interest to a factor analysis with promax rotation. Four factors emerged explaining 51% of the variance in

men's compensation during the Topic List conversation and all items loaded above .40. I created two factors reflecting *self-promoting compensation in Time 2 Chat* and two factors reflecting *ingratiating compensation in Time 2 Chat* (see Table 3 for factors and corresponding LIWC categories).

**Interpersonal Outcomes in Time 2 Chat.** Positive interpersonal outcomes reflect the extent to which both partners leave an interaction having had a fulfilling, or simply a good, social interaction. I assessed interpersonal outcomes according to men's self-reports and coder observations.

After the Time 2 chat, men completed 6 items self-reporting their perceptions of interpersonal outcomes on a scale from 1 = *not at all* to 11 = *very much* (See Appendix B, pp. 139). Items included: "I liked the other participant," "The other participant liked me," "I was able to gain the respect of the other participant," "I'd like to get to know the other participant better in the future," "I successfully communicated my thoughts and ideas," and "The conversation went well". I conducted a principal components factor analysis with promax rotation using these items. Although I expected two factors to emerge reflecting liking and respect goal pursuit, only one factor emerged explaining 61% of the variance in men's self-reports. All items had factor loadings above .66. I averaged the items to create a single variable reflecting men's *self-reported positive interpersonal outcomes in Time 2 Chat* ( $\alpha = .87$ ).

Coders rated 5 items assessing interpersonal outcomes at Time 2. Items included: "The participant liked the confederate," "I like the participant," "The participant made an effort to engage the confederate in conversation [he asked her questions and seemed to be



engaged],” “The participant tried to find common ground in terms of opinion,” “Overall, the discussion went well” on a scale from 0 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*. See Appendix B (pp. 140) for coding schemes. I averaged the items to create a single reliable variable reflecting *coded positive interpersonal outcomes in Time 2 Chat* ( $\alpha = .90$ ).

**Debriefing.** As with study 1, to assess the level of awareness regarding the study hypothesis, the experimenter led participants through several questions (see Appendix A, pp. 122). I read each debriefing form and assessed the extent to which a participant accurately guessed the study hypotheses, whether he was informed about the study from a peer, his suspicion that the confrontation was part of the procedure, and his suspicion about the role of the experimenter as a confederate.

## Study 2 Results

**Manipulation Check Items.** First, I examined the extent to which the explicit goal primes and confrontations were successfully delivered to participants.

**Goal prime manipulation check.** I reviewed coder assessments of the goal primes that were actually delivered at Time 1 and Time 2 to ensure that men received the same instructions at both times. One participant received different instructions at Time 1 and Time 2; this participant was excluded from the analysis (discussed in “Participants” section above) citing a procedural error. I also checked whether the condition that men completed for the Sentence Unscrambling Task (respect or liking implicit goal prime) matched the condition for the explicit instructions that men received. For example, if men completed the respect-themed Sentence Unscrambling

task they should have received the respect-related explicit goal prime instructions. The implicit and explicit prime conditions matched for every participant.

Regarding the multiple choice question asking participants to report the explicit goal prime instructions that they received at Time 1 and Time 2, 7% of participants ( $n = 11$ ) provided an incorrect response to this question. There was no consistent pattern to the incorrect answers across conditions (liking/gender-neutral cell  $n = 3$ , liking/sexist cell  $n = 4$ , respect/gender-neutral cell  $n = 2$ , and respect/sexist cell  $n = 2$ ). I chose not to exclude cases if they failed this manipulation check for two reasons. First, participants may have forgotten the exact instructions by the time they reached the manipulation check question, which was at the end of the study. Second, excluding these 11 participants creates unequal cell sizes across conditions. Therefore, I chose the more conservative approach of including all 11 participants in the analysis.

***Confrontation manipulation check.*** I reviewed coder assessments of the Time 1 Chats and also reviewed the transcripts myself. The confrontation was always appropriately delivered and all participants provided a response directly to their confronter, suggesting that they read it.

Finally, I examined men's self-reports of how much they engaged in behaviors that reflected their desire to be seen as egalitarian by their partner in the Time 2 Chat. If the confrontation manipulation was successful, I should find a main effect of type of confrontation. Men should be more concerned about appearing non-prejudiced after a confrontation for sexism compared to a confrontation for uninformed behavior. Therefore I conducted a 2 (type of confrontation: neutral, sexist) x 2 (type of goal:

respect, liking) ANOVA with *men's self-reported egalitarian goal pursuit* as the dependent variable. Indeed, there was a significant main effect of type of confrontation,  $F(1,118) = 8.23, p < .01$ . Men were more likely to report pursuing an egalitarian goal in the Time 2 Chat when they were previously confronted as sexist by their partner ( $M = 8.60, SD = 2.24$ ) compared to when they were confronted in a gender-neutral manner ( $M = 7.30, SD = 2.56$ ). There was no main effect of type of goal,  $F(1,118) = .12, p = .73$ , and no interaction for this variable,  $F(1,118) = 1.01, p = .32$ . Thus, there is evidence that the sexist confrontation was successful in creating feelings of threat in men.

**Goal-directed compensation in Time 1 Chat.** I examined men's goal-directed compensation following confrontation at two levels of specification. I first tested the overall tone of men's goal-directed compensation (e.g., accepting, rejecting). I then examined men's written demonstrations of goal-directed compensation (e.g., apology, justify).

**Goal-directed compensatory tone in Time 1 Chat.** First, I examined coder observations of men's overall compensatory tone in the Time 1 Chat. To test whether men had stronger reactions to the sexist or gender-neutral confrontation, I conducted a 2 (type of confrontation: neutral, sexist) x 2 (type of goal: respect, liking) MANOVA with *self-promoting compensatory tone at Time 1 Chat* and *ingratiating compensatory tone at Time 1 Chat* as the dependent variables. Contrary to predictions, there was no multivariate main effect of type of confrontation, *Wilk's A* = 1.00,  $F(2,113) = .20, p = .82$ , no multivariate main effect of goal, *Wilk's A* = .99,  $F(2,113) = .68, p = .51$ , and no interaction, *Wilk's A* = .98,  $F(2,113) = 1.00, p = .85$ , for these two variables.

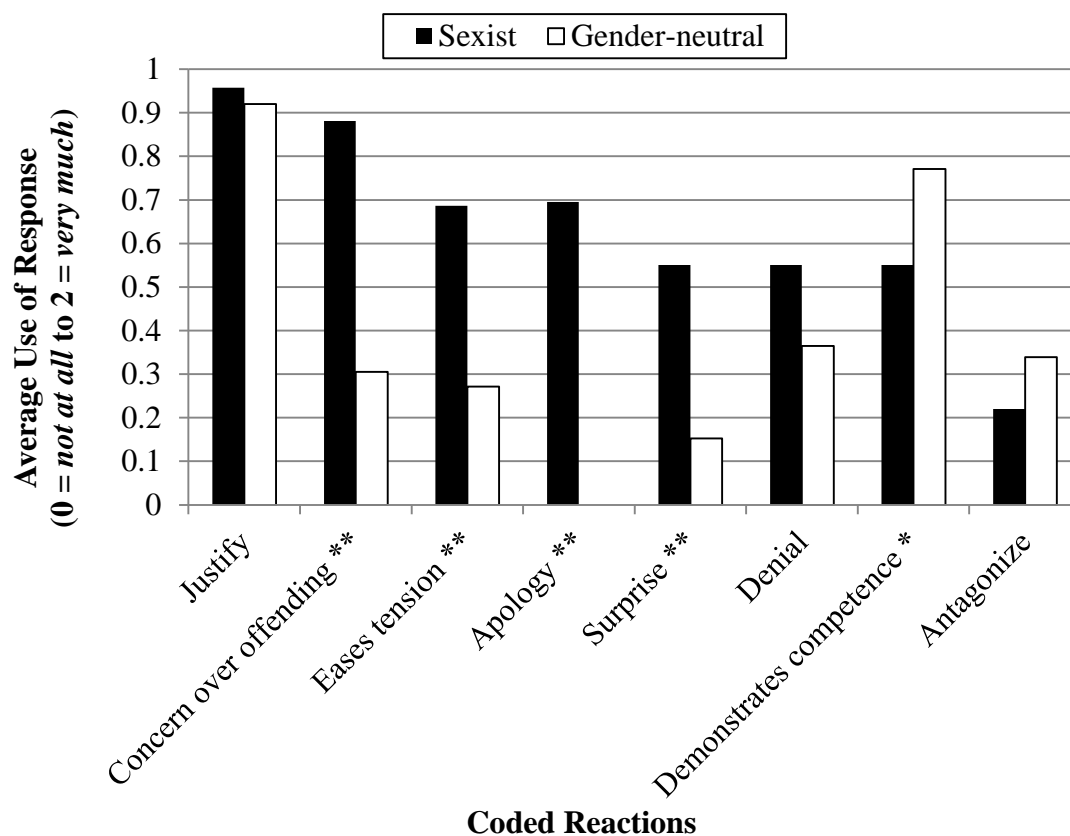
Overall, there were no differences in men's goal-directed compensatory tone immediately (i.e., within 30 seconds) following confrontation. Men were equally likely to appear ingratiating and self-promoting.

***Goal-directed compensatory reactions to confrontation in Time 1 Chat.*** Next, I examined a more precise level of men's goal-directed compensation through coder ratings of their written reactions to confrontation (e.g., apology, justify, denial). The first step was to examine the pattern of means for each type of written reaction by conducting a series of t-tests according to type of confrontation. In prior research using a face-to-face confrontation, men displayed an array of immediate reactions that reflected both ingratiation (e.g., apology, smiling) and discomfort (e.g., stammering, body movement, justification). In Mallett and Wagner (2011), men were more likely to display all of these behavioral reactions after a sexist confrontation than compared to gender-neutral confrontation. This reflected a stronger response to that type of confrontation overall, rather than a clear tendency to ingratiate or self-promote. In the current study, I sought to test whether I would replicate these findings over an instant message exchange. I also added a few categories that reflect men's written self-promotion (e.g., demonstrations of competence, antagonizing retorts). See Figure 3 for a descriptive graph containing mean responses for each reaction according to type of confrontation.

In Figure 3, we see that justification was the most common response overall, regardless of the type of confrontation. Furthermore, we see that men who were confronted as sexist had more ingratiating responses on average, such as concern over offending their partner, apology, and surprise than men who were confronted as

uninformed. Men who were confronted as sexist also expressed more denial (i.e., denial that they are sexist or that what they said was sexist) than men who were confronted as uninformed (i.e., denial of her position or that she has a valid point); however, this difference was only a trend ( $p = .11$ ). Men who were confronted as uninformed tended to demonstrate competence and antagonize their partner more than men who were confronted as sexist, though competence was marginally significant and antagonize did not significantly differ. Overall, these data demonstrate some qualitative differences, on average, in the types of retorts that men provide to their confronters.

Figure 3. Men's immediate written reactions to confrontation split by type of confrontation (Study 2)



\* p-value is marginally significant; \*\* p-value is significant

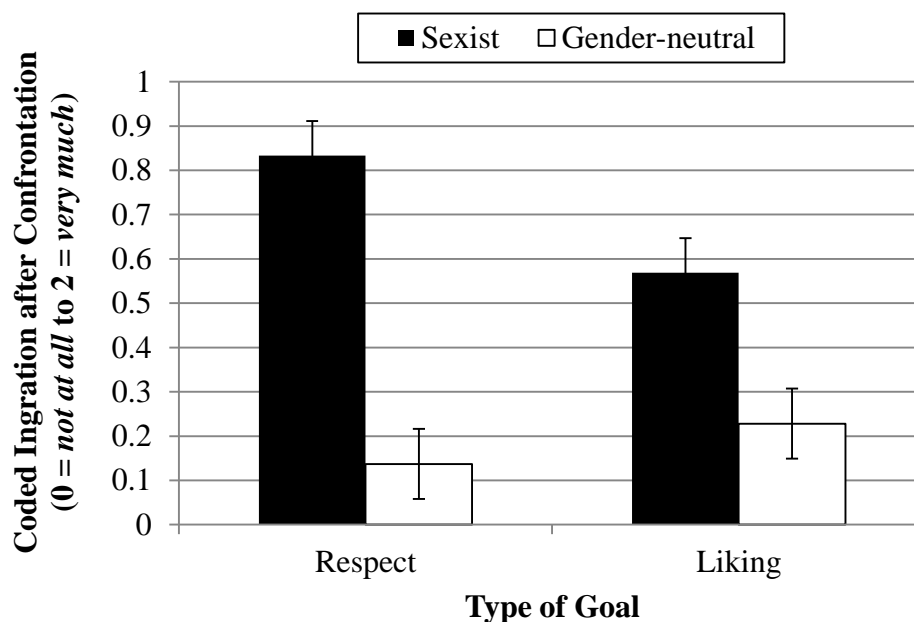
The second step in examining men's goal-directed reactions to confrontation was to form the 8 coded items into two reliable scales so that I can test patterns according to condition. I conducted a 2 (type of confrontation: neutral, sexist) x 2 (type of goal: respect, liking) MANOVA with *self-promoting reactions in Time 1 Chat* and *ingratiating compensatory reactions in Time 1 Chat* as the dependent variables. First, there was no multivariate main effect of type of goal for the two variables reflecting men's written reactions to confrontation, *Wilk's  $\Lambda$*  = .99,  $F(2,113) = .60$ ,  $p = .55$ . Contrary to predictions, men's written demonstrations of self-promotion and ingratiation did not differ according to the type of goal prime.

However, there was a multivariate main effect of type of confrontation, *Wilk's  $\Lambda$*  = .70,  $F(2,113) = 24.84$ ,  $p < .0001$ . A multivariate test examines the combined effect of all dependent variables in the analysis. A significant effect at the multivariate level justifies an analysis of between-subjects effects for each dependent variable separately. When I examined between-subjects effects, I found that the multivariate main effect was driven by a main effect of type of confrontation for the dependent variable reflecting men's ingratiating reactions in Time 1 Chat,  $F(1,118) = 7.92$ ,  $p < .0001$ . As predicted, men were more likely to demonstrate ingratiating behaviors (e.g., apology, concern over offending) when confronted as sexist ( $M = .70$ ,  $SD = .56$ ) than compared to men who were confronted in a gender-neutral manner ( $M = .18$ ,  $SD = .25$ ). However, there was no main effect of confrontation for the dependent variable reflecting men's self-promoting reactions in Time 1 Chat,  $F(1,118) = .11$ ,  $p = .74$ . Men were equally likely to demonstrate a self-promoting reaction regardless of type of confrontation.

There was also a marginally significant multivariate interaction between type of goal and type of confrontation, *Wilk's*  $\Lambda = .95$ ,  $F(2,113) = 2.90$ ,  $p = .06$ . When I examined between-subjects effects for each dependent variable, I found that this interaction was driven by a significant interaction for the dependent variable reflecting men's ingratiating reactions in Time 1 Chat,  $F(1,118) = 5.09$ ,  $p < .05$ . There was no interaction for the dependent variable reflecting men's self-promoting reactions in Time 1 Chat,  $F(1,118) = .02$ ,  $p = .89$ .

Regarding simple effects for the significant interaction between type of confrontation and type of goal on men's ingratiating reactions in the Time 1 Chat, I predicted that men who were confronted as sexist and pursued a liking goal would demonstrate more ingratiation than men who were confronted as sexist and pursued a respect goal. However, we see the reverse. A simple effects test showed a spreading interaction for ingratiating behavioral reactions (see Figure 4). When men were confronted as sexist, they were more likely to demonstrate ingratiation when they were also primed with a respect goal ( $M = .83$ ,  $SD = .61$ ) compared to when they were primed with a liking goal ( $M = .14$ ,  $SD = .21$ ),  $F(1,114) = 5.63$ ,  $p < .05$ . As predicted, there were no differences in men's demonstration of ingratiation within the gender-neutral confrontation condition, regardless of whether they were primed with a respect or liking goal,  $F(1,114) = .67$ ,  $p < .42$ .

Figure 4. Interaction between type of goal and type of confrontation on men's immediate ingratiating reactions to confrontation (Study 2)



**Goal-directed compensation in Time 2 Chat.** I also examined men's goal-directed compensation in the Topic List conversation. I first tested coder ratings of the overall tone of men's goal-directed compensation (e.g., accepting, rejecting). I then examined men's demonstrations of goal-directed compensation in their writing through a word count using LIWC.

**Goal-directed compensatory tone in Time 2 Chat.** First, I examined coder observations of the overall tone of men's goal-directed compensation in the Time 2 Chat. I conducted a 2 (type of confrontation: neutral, sexist) x 2 (type of goal: respect, liking) MANOVA with *coded self-promoting compensatory tone in Time 2 Chat* and *coded ingratiating compensatory tone in Time 2 Chat* as the dependent variables.



There was a multivariate main effect of type of goal, *Wilk's*  $\Lambda = .94$ ,  $F(2,113) = 3.95$ ,  $p < .05$ . Through an examination of between-subjects effects, I found that this multivariate main effect was primarily driven by a main effect of type of confrontation for the dependent variable reflecting men's ingratiating compensatory tone in Time 2 Chat,  $F(1,118) = 7.57$ ,  $p < .01$ . As predicted, men who pursued a liking goal were more likely to ingratiate their partner ( $M = 1.33$ ,  $SD = .49$ ) than compared to men who pursued a respect goal ( $M = 1.09$ ,  $SD = .46$ ). For the dependent variable reflecting men's self-promoting compensatory tone in Time 2, there was a slight trend in the predicted direction but no main effect of confrontation,  $F(1,118) = 2.31$ ,  $p = .13$ ; men were equally likely to demonstrate self-promotion regardless of whether they pursued a respect goal ( $M = .64$ ,  $SD = .35$ ) or a liking goal ( $M = .55$ ,  $SD = .32$ ). There was no multivariate main effect of type of confrontation, *Wilk's*  $\Lambda = 1.00$ ,  $F(2,113) = .18$ ,  $p = .84$ , and no multivariate interaction for these variables, *Wilk's*  $\Lambda = .99$ ,  $F(2,113) = .36$ ,  $p = .70$ .

***Written goal-directed compensation in Time 2 Chat.*** Next, I examined evidence of men's goal-directed compensation in their writing in the Time 2 Chat through LIWC. I conducted a 2 (type of confrontation: neutral, sexist) x 2 (type of goal: respect, liking) MANOVA with the four LIWC variables reflecting *self-promoting compensation in Time 2 Chat* (task engagement words, self-focused words) and *ingratiating compensation in Time 2 Chat* (emotional engagement words, other-focused words) as dependent variables. Interestingly, all four variables reflected the same pattern of results. Specifically, there was a multivariate main effect of type of goal, *Wilk's*  $\Lambda = .90$ ,  $F(2,113) = 3.05$ ,  $p < .05$ . See Table 4 for results of between-subjects tests for each dependent variable. Contrary to

predictions, there was no multivariate main effect of type of confrontation, *Wilk's*  $\Lambda = .98$ ,  $F(2,113) = .71$ ,  $p = .59$ , and no multivariate interaction for these variables, *Wilk's*  $\Lambda = .98$ ,  $F(2,113) = .61$ ,  $p = .65$ .

Table 4. Main effect of type of goal for LIWC variables reflecting men's compensation in Time 2 Chat (Study 2)

Between-subjects Contrasts	Type of Goal			
			Respect	Liking
LIWC Self-promoting compensation in Time 2 Chat	<i>F</i> (1, 118)	<i>p</i>	M (SD)	M (SD)
Task Engagement Words	2.90	.09*	-.10 (.67)	.14 (.83)
Self-focused Words	3.36	.07*	-.11 (.71)	.14 (.74)
LIWC Ingratiating compensation in Time 2 Chat				
Emotional Engagement Words	4.25	.04**	-.12 (.65)	.15 (.74)
Other-focused Words	4.30	.04**	-.12 (.55)	.08 (.54)

\* p-value is marginally significant; \*\* p-value is significant

Table 4 shows significant main effects of type of goal for both LIWC variables reflecting men's ingratiating compensation in Time 2 Chat. As predicted, men who pursued a liking goal were more likely to use *emotional engagement* and *other-focused* words than compared to men who pursued a respect goal. There were also marginal main effects of type of goal for both LIWC variables reflecting men's self-promoting compensation in Time 2 Chat. In the opposite direction of my predictions, men who pursued a liking goal were marginally more likely to use *task engagement* and *self-focused* words than compared to men who pursued a respect goal. This suggests that men

used more goal-directed words and were more engaged in the conversation overall when pursuing a liking goal compared to a respect goal.

**Correlations between goal-directed compensation at Time 1 and Time 2.** In order to test whether evidence of men's compensation at Time 1 was related to men's goal-directed compensation at Time 2, I calculated a bivariate correlation matrix. I utilized research assistant coded variables because they provide similar information about men's behavior at the two time points. I expected that men who express ingratiating compensation at Time 1 should also express ingratiating compensation at Time 2. Similarly, men who express self-promoting compensation at Time 1 should also express self-promoting compensation at Time 2. Pearson's correlations are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Bivariate correlations with coded variables representing goal-directed compensatory tone at Time 1, goal-directed reactions at Time 1, and goal-directed compensatory tone at Time 2 (Study 2)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>Goal-directed Tone at Time 1</b>						
1. Self-promoting Tone Time 1	1.0	---	---	---	---	---
2. Ingratiating Tone Time 1	-.67**	1.0	---	---	---	---
<b>Goal-directed Reactions at Time 1</b>						
3. Self-promoting Reaction Time 1	.024	-.073	1.0	---	---	---
4. Ingratiating Reaction Time 1	-.021	-.047	-.37**	1.0	---	---
<b>Goal-directed Tone at Time 2</b>						
5. Self-promoting Tone Time 2	-.006	-.016	.17	.102	1.0	---
6. Ingratiating Tone Time 2	-.007	.064	-.28**	.16	-.36**	1.0

\*\*  $p < .01$ , 2-tailed

We see a slightly different pattern than I expected. Overall, there is evidence that men's general tone and men's specific written reactions do reflect different aspects of men's compensation; however, men were not consistent in their expressions of goal-directed compensation across Time 1 and Time 2. Specifically, self-promoting tone at Time 1 and self-promoting reactions at Time 1 are unrelated. Additionally, both self-promoting tone at Time 1 and self-promoting reactions at Time 1 are unrelated to self-promoting tone at Time 2. We see the same pattern for ingratiation. Ingratiating tone at Time 1 and ingratiating reactions at Time 1 are unrelated. Additionally, both ingratiating tone at Time 1 and ingratiating reactions at Time 1 are unrelated to ingratiating tone at Time 2. Men were not consistent in their expressions of ingratiation across Time 1 and Time 2.

I did find a strong inverse relation between self-promoting tone at Time 1 and ingratiating tone at Time 1 ( $r = -.67^{**}$ ), an inverse relation between self-promoting reactions at Time 1 and ingratiating reactions at Time 1 ( $r = -.37^{**}$ ), an inverse relation between self-promoting tone at Time 2 and ingratiating tone at Time 2 ( $r = -.36^{**}$ ). This suggests that, on average, when men expressed self-promotion they did not also express ingratiation. Conversely, when men expressed ingratiation they did not also express self-promotion. Self-promotion and ingratiation represent opposing goal-directed intentions. Interestingly, there was also an inverse relation between self-promoting reactions to confrontation at Time 1 and ingratiating tone at Time 2 ( $r = -.28^{**}$ ). This suggests that a self-promoting immediate response to confrontation at Time 1 is related to men's lack of ingratiation at Time 2.

**Positive interpersonal outcomes in Time 2 Chat.** Next, I examined the nature of interpersonal outcomes in the Topic List conversation utilizing both self-reports and coder ratings. This delayed measure of the quality of the interaction reveals whether a second conversation between a man and his confronter was harmed by confrontation.

First, I examined coder observations. I conducted a 2 (type of confrontation: neutral, sexist) x 2 (type of goal: respect, liking) ANOVA with *coded positive interpersonal outcomes in Time 2 Chat* as the dependent variable. There was a main effect of type of goal,  $F(1,118) = 8.34, p < .01$ . As predicted, participants were more likely to achieve positive interpersonal outcomes with a confronter when men pursued a liking goal, ( $M = 2.77, SD = .56$ ) compared to when men pursued a respect goal ( $M = 2.47, SD = .55$ ). There was no main effect of type of confrontation,  $F(1,118) = 1.35, p = .25$ , and no interaction for this variable,  $F(1,118) = .11, p = .75$ . Thus, outcomes varied according to men's goal pursuit, and not the type of confrontation.

Next, I examined men's self-reports of the Time 2 conversation with their confronter. I conducted a 2 (type of confrontation: neutral, sexist) x 2 (type of goal: respect, liking) ANOVA with *self-reported positive interpersonal outcomes in Time 2 Chat* as the dependent variable. There was no main effect of type of goal,  $F(1,118) = 1.14, p = .29$ , no main effect of type of confrontation,  $F(1,118) = .61, p = .44$ , and no interaction for this variable,  $F(1,118) = .16, p = .69$ . Replicating Mallett and Wagner (2011), men reported positive perceptions of their partner and their subsequent interaction with a grand mean of 8.19 ( $SD = 1.58$ ) on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 11 = *strongly agree*. Although men demonstrated clear reactions to the confrontations in the

Time 1 Chat and differences in their writing in the Time 2 Chat, men reported having a positive conversation with their confronter.

**Testing the role of compensation in positive interpersonal outcomes.** Finally, I investigated whether it was appropriate to test a moderated mediational model where type of goal moderates the strength of the mediated relationship between type of confrontation and interpersonal outcomes via men's compensatory written responses during the Time 2 chat (Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). However, I did not find significant interactions between type of goal and type of confrontation during the Time 2 chat, so it would not be appropriate to test moderated mediation.

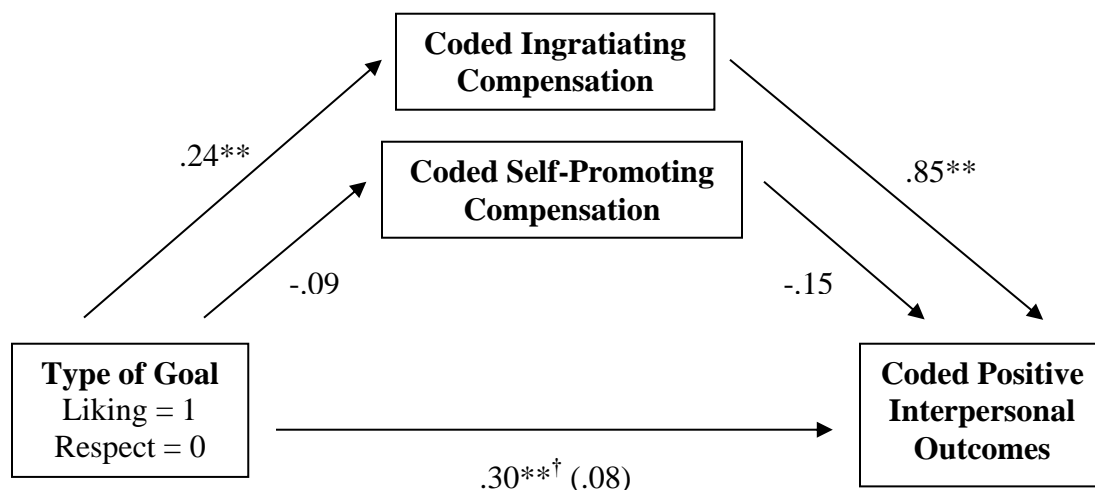
I also investigated whether it was appropriate to test a basic mediational relation between type of confrontation and interpersonal outcomes via men's compensatory behavior, which would replicate previous research (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). However, the data showed that men's compensation and interpersonal outcomes were not predicted by type of confrontation. In other words, the traditional  $a$  (independent variable to mediator) and  $c$  (independent variable to dependent variable) paths were not significant with type of confrontation as the independent variable. Therefore, it would not be appropriate to test this mediational model.

Finally, I investigated whether it was appropriate to test an alternative model examining the mediational relation between type of goal and interpersonal outcomes via men's compensatory behaviors. I wanted to test the extent to which the goal prime would predict men's written compensation and the nature of subsequent outcomes. I utilized Preacher and Hayes' INDIRECT macro for SPSS because it has greater power to detect

effects in small samples while maintaining control over the Type I error rate compared to the traditional Baron and Kenny approach (MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West, & Sheets, 2002). I conducted a multiple mediator bootstrapping analysis generating 5000 samples at a 95% confidence interval with bias corrected estimates (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). I dummy coded the goal prime conditions so that liking = 1 and respect = 0 to test for the presence of mediation in one group versus the other.

Figure 5 provides a diagram of the model and Table 6 presents the corresponding estimates. In this model, I utilized the research assistant coded variables reflecting men's compensation and positive interpersonal outcomes. I tested whether the effect of a liking goal vs. a respect goal (independent variable) on coded positive interpersonal outcomes (dependent variable) is mediated by the two coded variables reflecting men's ingratiating and self-promoting compensatory behaviors in the Time 2 chat.

Figure 5. Men's ingratiating compensation explains the association between liking goal pursuit and positive interpersonal outcomes (Study 2)



Note: \*\* indicates a significant path

†Confidence Interval did not include zero; thus, the indirect path is significant.

Table 6. Men's ingratiating compensation explains the association between liking goal pursuit and positive interpersonal outcomes (Study 2)

Description of Estimated Path	Estimate (SE)	95 % CIs Lower / Upper
<i>Test 1. Liking Goal Pursuit → Compensation (Coded Ingratiation and Self-Promotion) → Coded Positive Interpersonal Outcomes</i>		
Total Effect of Liking Goal Pursuit on Positive Interpersonal Outcomes	.30 (.10)**	
Direct Effect of Liking Goal Pursuit on Positive Interpersonal Outcomes	.08 (.07)	
Indirect Effect of Liking Goal Pursuit on Positive Interpersonal Outcomes through Compensation	.22 (.08)	.07 / .38 <sup>†</sup>
<i>Test 2. Liking Goal Pursuit → Specific Effect of Coded Ingratiation → Coded Positive Interpersonal Outcomes</i>		
Liking Goal Pursuit to Ingratiation	.24 (.09)**	
Direct Effect of Ingratiation on Positive Interpersonal Outcomes	.85 (.08)**	
Specific Indirect Effect of Ingratiation as a Mediator	.20 (.08)	.06 / .37 <sup>†</sup>
<i>Test 3. Liking Goal Pursuit → Specific Effect of Coded Self-Promotion → Coded Positive Interpersonal Outcomes</i>		
Liking Goal Pursuit to Self-Promotion	-.09 (.06)	
Direct Effect of Self-Promotion on Positive Interpersonal Outcomes	-.15 (.11)	
Specific Indirect Effect of Self-Promotion as a Mediator	.01 (.01)	-.002 / .06

<sup>^</sup>Type of goal was coded so that 0 = respect goal prime and 1 = liking goal prime

\*\* $p < .01$  (significant paths).

<sup>†</sup>Confidence Interval did not include zero; thus, the indirect path is significant.



In general (Test 1), I found that the combined effect of men's compensation in the Time 2 chat (ingratiation and self-promotion together) is a significant mediator of the relation between men's pursuit of a liking goal (IV) and interpersonal outcomes in the Time 2 chat (DV). However (Test 2), this mediation is driven by the specific effect of men's ingratiating compensation. When men pursue a liking goal they engage in ingratiating compensation, which helps produce positive outcomes. Men's self-promoting compensation is unrelated to liking goal pursuit and positive interpersonal outcomes (Test 3); thus, self-promotion is not a mediator and does not explain how men achieve positive interpersonal outcomes<sup>2</sup>.

### **Study 2 Discussion**

This study provides evidence for the connection between men's pursuit of a liking goal, men's expressions of ingratiation with their confronter, and positive interpersonal outcomes. When men pursue a liking goal their ingratiating compensation leads to positive interpersonal outcomes with a confronter. This mediation provides evidence for the assertion that it is the goal to be liked by a partner that produces other-oriented behaviors which ultimately protect interpersonal outcomes (Mallett & Wagner, 2011).

Contrary to predictions and previous research, I did not find a mediational link between type of confrontation and men's goal-directed compensation or interpersonal outcomes at Time 2. That is, the type of confrontation did not predict men's goal-

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<sup>2</sup> I tested various combinations of variables within this multiple mediator model as well as simple mediation (one mediator) replacing the mediators with men's self-reported egalitarian goal pursuit and LIWC variables reflecting men's word usage, as well as men's self-reported interpersonal outcomes of the second conversation as the dependent variable. However, the traditional *a*, *b*, and/or *c* paths were not significant in any of these models and thus did not support the presence of mediation with the other types of variables.

directed compensation or interpersonal outcomes. However, as presented in Figure 5 and Table 6, type of goal was a significant predictor of both ingratiating compensation and interpersonal outcomes. Thus, it appears that men's goal-directed ingratiating compensation may have eliminated differences that we might have observed according to confrontation. It is not the confrontation itself that affects interpersonal outcomes; rather, it is men's propensity to pursue a liking goal and engage in ingratiating compensation that provides a buffer for a potentially awkward situation. This is an important finding that has implications for the way we understand men's goal-directed responses to confrontation.

### **Men's Goal-directed Reactions to Confrontation in Time 1 Chat**

In terms of men's goal-directed reactions to confrontation in the Time 1 chat, I observed some interesting findings that contribute to our understanding of majority-group members' responses to confrontation. In Figure 2, we see that justification was the most common response to confrontation, regardless of whether men were confronted as sexist or uninformed. In comparison, during face-to-face interactions, men were more likely to justify their response after being confronted as sexist compared to when they were confronted as uninformed (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). Perhaps the instant message format created an environment where all men were motivated to provide evidence supporting their previous contribution to the conversation. Indeed, research shows that college-aged adults report that instant messaging communication enables more control over a social interaction compared to face-to-face conversations (Madell & Muncer, 2007). Specifically, one can take more time to think about a response before sending it, whereas

long pauses would violate norms in face-to-face contexts. In the present study, some men could have taken time to consider the confrontation and craft a response that justified their previous comment.

Furthermore, we see that men who were confronted as sexist at Time 1 tended to have immediate ingratiating responses and men who were confronted as uninformed tended to have immediate self-promoting reactions. These trends are in line with predictions. Men who were confronted as sexist also tended to express more denial (i.e., denial that they are sexist or that what they said was sexist) than men who were confronted as uninformed (i.e., denial of her position or that she has a valid point). This could reflect men's motivation to be seen as non-prejudiced in that they wanted to actively dissociate from the "sexist" label. To further demonstrate this point, men did self-report engaging in more egalitarian goal pursuit following confrontation for sexism than for gender-neutral confrontation.

In terms of the empirical test of men's goal-directed reactions at Time 1, there was a main effect of type of confrontation for ingratiating behavioral reactions. As predicted, men were more likely to demonstrate ingratiating behaviors (e.g., apology, concern over offending) when confronted as sexist compared to men who were confronted in a gender-neutral manner. This main effect was not present for the dependent variable reflecting self-promoting behavioral reactions (e.g., demonstrations of competence, antagonizing retort). Thus, it seems that a confrontation for sexism elicited ingratiation from men, but did not have an effect on self-promotion.

Still, this main effect of type of confrontation was qualified by an interesting interaction. When men were confronted as sexist, they were more likely to demonstrate ingratiation when they were also primed with a respect goal compared to when they are primed with a liking goal. This is the opposite of the pattern I predicted. In terms of what we know about goal-directed responses in an intergroup context, it is possible that the confrontation for sexism suddenly provoked men who had a self-focus to be more aware of the social context (Trawalter et al., 2009). In other words, men who were pursuing a respect goal may have had stronger ingratiating responses immediately following the sexist confrontation, compared to men who were already pursuing a liking goal, because they were not previously considering their partner's emotions or thoughts.

### **Men's Goal-directed Compensation in Time 2 Chat**

In the Time 2 Chat, I measured men's goal-directed compensation with coder ratings of tone and also LIWC analysis of men's writing. For these measures I found a main effect of type of goal. Men were more likely to demonstrate ingratiating compensatory tone if they were primed with a liking goal than compared to a respect goal; however, there was no main effect of goal for the dependent variable reflecting self-promotion. Interestingly, in terms of the LIWC analysis, men were more likely to engage in ingratiating compensation and marginally more likely to engage in self-promoting compensation when they pursued a liking goal compared to when they pursued a respect goal. That is, men used more goal-directed words in general when pursuing a liking goal compared to a respect goal. This seems to reflect a general propensity to put effort into being a good partner by focusing on the task.

Not surprisingly, through a factor analysis I found evidence that coder observations and LIWC were revealing different aspects of men's intentions and emotions. A limitation of LIWC is in its inability to capture the overall tone of a written piece; this is especially true when one is using LIWC to code a social interaction (Pennebaker et al., 2007). Although LIWC provides an indication of men's intentions, it cannot make inferences about the overall quality of men's responses. As a result, I used coder observations of the overall tone of men's goal-directed compensation within the context of the two-way conversation between the man and his confronter. This allowed coders to observe the context of men's responses and make judgments about their tone. In general, LIWC is indicating that men who pursued a liking goal used more meaningful words than men who pursued a respect goal. Coder observations supplement this by indicating that men who pursued a liking goal used those words to ingratiate their partner more so than men who pursued a respect goal. These findings provide evidence that the goal primes were successful in producing different goal-directed writing in men when they conversed with their confronters.

### **Correlations between Goal-directed Compensation at Time 1 and Time 2**

I expected to find continuity in coder observations of men's self-promoting compensation between Time 1 and Time 2 and men's ingratiating compensation at Time 1 and Time 2. Instead I found that, for each of the three measures (Time 1 tone, Time 1 written reactions, Time 2 tone), ingratiation and self-promotion were inversely related. While unexpected, this finding is thought-provoking. Though ingratiation and self-promotion are often defined as competing goal-directed behaviors (Bergsieker et al.,

2010; Crocker et al., 2008), an individual can express both ingratiation and self-promotion within the course of a conversation (Crocker, 2008; Fiske, 2009).

In the current study, coders were trained to observe each of the items they coded as independent from other items; as a result, they should not observe liking-related behaviors as being the opposite of respect-seeking behaviors. However, it appears that coders often did observe men's goal-directed compensation as representing dichotomous constructs (i.e., men were either self-promoting or ingratiating, but not both). In future research it would be worthwhile to code materials once for ingratiation and once for self-promotion in order to obtain an even more objective measure of the types of goal-directed compensation that men could demonstrate.

### **Why is it that Men Who Pursued a Respect Goal Did Not Self-promote?**

I found that men were more likely to ingratiate their partner after a confrontation for sexism in the Time 1 Chat, and were more likely to ingratiate their partner and self-promote when pursuing a liking goal in the Time 2 Chat. So, why is it that men who pursued a respect goal did not demonstrate self-promoting compensation at Time 1 or Time 2?

There are a few possible explanations for this finding, including inaccurate operational definitions, an ineffective confrontation manipulation, or even the presence of men's self-presentation concerns that mitigated their expressions of self-promotion. First, my operational definitions of self-promotion were developed based on research linking such behaviors to a self-focus (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Crocker et al., 2009), so it is unlikely that it was a construct validity issue.

Second, there was also evidence that men had differential reactions to the confrontations. I found that men demonstrated more ingratiating reactions and they self-reported engaging in egalitarian goal pursuit more so after a sexist confrontation than after a gender-neutral confrontation. So, it is unlikely that the confrontations were simply ineffective at producing differential reactions and behaviors from men.

Third, there is evidence within the self-presentation literature suggesting that the inability to observe differences in men's self-promotion according to condition could reflect a self-presentation issue inherent in social behavior (Jones, 1989). The underlying desire to be liked is a strong motivator of human behavior, which often mitigates outward expressions of anger, competence, and self-promotion (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Bergsieker et al., 2010; Godfrey et al., 1986; Jones & Pittman, 1982; Trawalter et al., 2009). Thus, situational factors interact with the desire to express competence and can result in inconsistent expression of self-promotion (Jones, 1989). Although half of the men in this study were instructed to express self-promotion, it is likely that situational constraints attenuated their propensity to engage in such behaviors when confronted at Time 1 and when interacting with a confronter at Time 2. Men's motivation to mitigate negative consequences could have resulted in an unwillingness to self-promote. Still, men's lack of self-promotion in this study is an interesting finding. Both men and women expect that men will self-promote when imagining confrontation (Dodd et al., 2001; Saunders & Senn, 2009). However, I find that even when men are instructed to engage in respect-seeking behaviors during an actual interaction, they do not consistently do so. This is consistent with The Stereotype Content Model (Fiske et al., 2002) which

posits that, for men, a liking goal is often more dominant than a respect goal due the stereotype that advantaged group members are competent but insensitive.

### **Statistical Power**

I predicted two-way interactions between type of confrontation and type of goal across all statistical tests in Study 2, but only one of these interactions was significant. Given the presence of men's ingratiation in Time 1 and Time 2, it appears that men's pursuit of a liking goal may have washed-out differences that I expected to observe according to type of confrontation. I conducted a second power analysis in order to determine whether a lack of power might also explain this inability to detect significant interactions across the statistical tests I conducted.

An a priori power analysis indicated that this study should be sufficiently powered with at least 100 participants (actual  $n = 118$  after exclusions). I conducted a second power analysis using G-Power version 3.1.3 in order to determine whether power was sufficient given the observed effect sizes in the data. In general, the study was sufficiently powered to detect multivariate main effects and power was indeed sufficient for the one interaction I found (.81). As with Study 1, there were small effect sizes for the non-significant interactions that I tested ( $\eta_p^2 = .001-.009$ ), and the power analysis indicated that I would have had to recruit from 200 to 2,000 more participants in order to achieve significance. I conclude that the statistical tests I conducted were sufficiently powered to detect main effects, and that the interactions did not reflect the patterns that I hypothesized.



## **Limitations and Future Directions**

One possible limitation of this study is that the instant message format could have contributed to an inability to detect self-promoting compensation. Perhaps self-promotion is easier to measure in men's verbal responses and nonverbal cues in face-to-face interactions. Future research can test the replicability of the implicit and explicit goal primes with face-to-face confrontation to test their impact on men's verbal and nonverbal behaviors as they relate to type of confrontation and interpersonal outcomes. I would expect that a more rigid body posture and lack of expression would be more closely associated with self-promotion and respect goal pursuit than ingratiation or liking goal pursuit.

Additionally, the confrontations that I utilized in this study were replicated from previous research (Mallett & Wagner, 2011), but it would also be worthwhile to test whether a more assertive confrontation would be more likely to elicit self-promotion from men than the current confrontations. In general, future research can be aimed at testing variations of assertive and non-assertive confrontations and their impact on a perpetrator's behavior and interpersonal outcomes.

## CHAPTER SIX

### GENERAL DISCUSSION

The current studies sought to investigate the role of men's goal pursuit in the context of confrontation in order to understand the mechanisms that lead to positive interpersonal outcomes. My research contributes to an emerging body of literature that seeks to identify ways that society can improve intergroup relations for traditionally stigmatized group members (Tropp & Mallett, 2011). Research that identifies mechanisms that lead to positive outcomes after confrontation can inform future research that seeks to understand perpetrator's responses and target's willingness to confront sexism.

#### **Summary**

Over two studies I found evidence that goal pursuit is an important factor in understanding men's responses to confrontation. In particular, I found that egalitarian goals are activated (Study 1) and egalitarianism and ingratiation are expressed (Study 2) by men following actual confrontation and confrontation for sexism, but in comparison, respect goal pursuit and self-promotion are not (Study 1 and Study 2). Respect goal pursuit was most accessible after men imagined being confronted as uninformed (Study 1), supporting the idea that the imagined scenario context about gender-neutral behavior leads to a more self-focused perspective of a social interaction.

These studies begin to help us understand the role of goal pursuit in confrontation. While my previous research shows that men engage in ingratiating behaviors after confrontation for sexist behavior, this research presents the first evidence that men's pursuit of egalitarian and liking goals leads to ingratiation and positive interpersonal outcomes. In Study 2, confrontation, regardless of the type, turned out well when men pursued a liking goal. Together, these studies provide further evidence that confrontation can sometimes lead to positive outcomes (Czopp et al., 2006; Mallett & Wagner, 2011).

### **Quality of Computer-Mediated versus Face-to-Face Conversations**

The actual interactions and confrontations in the current study occurred over instant message, which consists of a temporary Internet-based interaction between two strangers. One might consider whether the lack of between-subjects differences according to type of confrontation in Study 1 or the inability to replicate the mediational model with type of confrontation as the independent variable from Mallett and Wagner (2011) in Study 2 is a reflection of instant messaging as the mode of communication versus face-to-face interactions. Past research shows mixed results in regards to the quality of computer-mediated versus face-to-face communication (Cummings, Butler, & Kraut, 2002). For instance, early research showed that the anonymity factor in computer-mediated communication can result in increased hostility and aggression from users (Kiesler, Siegel, & McGuire, 1984). The lack of verbal and nonverbal cues via computer-mediated communication can make it more difficult to read emotions and intent compared to face-to-face interactions (Baym, Zhang, & Lin, 2004). Kraut and colleagues (1998) presented longitudinal evidence demonstrating that the use

of online communication led to declines in social involvement and psychological well-being over time for some users. For years, these negative consequences associated with online communication resulted in perceptions that instant messaging produced poor-quality interactions in general (Bargh & McKenna, 2004). If this is true, I might expect that the data produced from these interactions is of lower quality than face-to-face conversations, and that it should be more difficult to detect differences in men's emotions, thoughts, and intentions.

However, research within the last decade shows that computer-mediated interactions are considered a normal part of daily social interactions for college-aged men and women (Madell & Muncer, 2007). Computer use is integrated into everyday life and is often used to bridge physical distance between users through email, text, and instant messaging (Madell & Muncer, 2007). Computer-mediated conversations are also considered to be high quality social interactions by users, although slightly lower quality than phone or face-to-face (Baym, Zhang, & Lin, 2004). Bargh and McKenna (2004) conducted a literature review and historical overview of Internet usage and concluded that the effects of computer-mediated communication and Internet use largely depend on the particular goals that users bring to the interaction (e.g., self-expression, affiliation, or competition) as well as unique qualities of the situation. Thus, the use of computer-mediated communication in itself does not necessarily impede the quality of social interactions. Rather, it is the user's goals and demands of the situation that determine the outcomes when using online communication.

Thus, computer-mediated communication has the potential to reveal important information about the nature of outcomes following confrontation and men's goal pursuit. Although I am unable to generalize these findings to men's verbal tone and nonverbal communication, I was able to detect differences in men's writing and their own self-reports after confrontation. Because confrontation situations outside of the laboratory setting can introduce a variety of different personality and situational factors to the conversation, it is still important to replicate this research on goal primes and confrontation within face-to-face interactions.

### **Comparison to Previous Research**

My thesis research demonstrated that men will engage in ingratiating behaviors after confrontation for sexism and that their ingratiation leads to positive interpersonal outcomes (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). In other words, I found evidence that confrontation can go well. However, there are also times when confrontation does not go well and perpetrators dislike their confronters. The current studies represent the first attempt to prime perpetrators with goals prior to confrontation in order to explain this variability in men's responses. In addition to replicating previous research by measuring men's ingratiating compensation following confrontation, I also sought to measure men's self-promoting compensation.

Contrary to predictions, I did not find evidence that men had self-promoting responses to either sexist or gender-neutral confrontation. Instead, in Study 2, I replicated my previous findings through evidence that men are more likely to ingratiate a partner after confrontation for sexism compared to a gender-neutral confrontation. I also

extended my previous research by connecting men's ingratiation to their liking goal pursuit.

Specifically, in terms of the goal prime manipulation, in the present research I found that priming men with a respect goal did not lead to self-promotion. This is not surprising given research on self-presentation (Jones, 1989) and majority-group members responses to intergroup threat (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Trawalter et al., 2009). The motivation to be liked and the desire to be seen as non-prejudiced are strong factors that can mitigate majority-group members behaviors in intergroup interactions (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Fiske et al., 2002; Trawalter et al., 2009). Thus, it is possible that the nature of the tasks reminded men that they should seek liking from their female partner, even when they were primed to pursue respect. When men entered Study 2, they were aware that the chats with their partner would be evaluated by the researchers and were under the impression that their partner was reporting perceptions of them (Vorauer et al., 1998). If men were in a situation that alleviated the pressure to be liked (by their partner or by the researchers), I might have been able to observe men's self-promotion.

In my thesis research, I suspected that men engaged in ingratiating compensation following confrontation for sexism because they were concerned about appearing prejudiced in this context. Indeed in Study 1, I found that men who experienced a confrontation for sexism had egalitarianism on their minds. This suggests that actual confrontation and confrontation for sexism may lead men to think about fairness or appearing biased. The slower activation of respect-related words, compared to egalitarian-related words after actual confrontation for sexism may help explain why men

in this situation tend to repair outcomes with a partner (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). If men are more concerned with being seen as fair and moral than being respected, then they should be more likely to bridge the conversation gap after confrontation and pursue other-oriented goals in an interaction. This is the first evidence linking men's egalitarian goal pursuit to men's responses to confrontation.

In my thesis research I also found that 80% of men in the sexist confrontation condition actually used gendered pronouns during the Moral Dilemma Task; however, during the debriefing all men recalled having used gendered language. In the present studies, I found similar results. In Study 1, 86% of men in the actual scenario condition who were confronted as sexist actually used gendered language and in Study 2, 81% of men who were confronted as sexist actually used gendered language. During the debriefing, none of the participants denied having used sexist language during the task. Thus, men's actual use of sexist language varied at about the same rate across the three studies.

### **Limitations**

One limitation of the present studies includes the use of instant messaging versus face-to-face communication. Many confrontational situations occur in person with co-workers, acquaintances, or even family members. Given the nature of written data, it is more difficult to infer intended tone and impossible to detect nonverbal cues (body posture, voice inflection, eye gaze). The present studies provide useful information about the way communication unfolds following confrontation, but I cannot make inferences about verbal responses and nonverbal cues associated with goal-directed compensation.

In this regard, face-to-face interactions have the potential to reveal additional information about goal-directed behaviors following confrontation that computer-mediated communication might not capture.

A second limitation is in the nature of the Moral Dilemma Task that I used in both studies. This task was used in Mallett and Wagner (2011) because it provided an effective way to set up the confrontations. The Moral Dilemma Task asks participants to come up with recommendations for next steps when a target person is caught engaging in some illegal or immoral activity, which often means that participants are considering punishments or restitution. In Study 1, I found that regardless of the type of confrontation, concepts reflecting an egalitarian goal (e.g., fairness, morality, justice) were the most accessible when compared to respect and liking. This finding could have been a reflection of the nature of the task that participants imagined or actually completed with a partner. Men were considering moral infractions and often tried to come up with a fair solution. It is likely that the lexical decision task was partly measuring those types of concepts which were especially salient in this context. Similarly, in Study 2, the Moral Dilemma Task could have inadvertently primed participants with an other-oriented perspective. For instance, in considering outcomes for the target, some participants might have engaged in perspective-taking, an exercise that encourages one to think about others' emotions and thoughts. As a result, even men who were primed with a respect goal could have also been primed with a liking goal simply by completing this task. Future researchers should consider the use of different tasks that do not introduce the possibility of priming participants with competing goals.



A third limitation is in the nature of the convenience sample I utilized in both studies. It is unclear whether these findings can be generalized to a non-college population. College students should be aware of societal norms that dictate egalitarian behavior in intergroup contexts and be motivated to be seen as non-prejudiced (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Devine et al., 2002; Klonis et al., 2005; Monteith, Sherman, & Devine, 1998; Plant & Devine, 2009; Vorauer et al., 2000, 1998). However, sexism is an ingrained part of society and is often perceived as being less serious than racism (Czopp et al., 2006; Swim et al., 2001). Thus, some men might not be motivated to be seen as non-prejudiced and they may act in a self-promoting manner following confrontation. For instance, I might expect to observe more self-promoting behaviors following confrontation from older men who have encountered more overt sexism in their lifetime compared to younger men (Devine & Elliot, 1995; McConahay, 1983). Future research can replicate and extend this research to different age cohorts in order to test the nature of outcomes across generations.

An additional consideration is in the methodology I utilized in both studies. I chose experimental methods rather than field or diary studies because this approach offers more control over situational variables compared to the others. In an experimental study I am able to draw conclusions about men's intentions through their writing because I randomly assigned them to imagine or experience confrontation (Study 1) and I primed them to pursue particular types of goals (Study 2). Although this approach does not present a serious limitation, the conclusions I draw from these studies will have less external validity than I would achieve if I conducted a study with co-workers or if I had

men and women complete a diary study about their actual experiences with confrontation. The present studies provide initial evidence of men's goal pursuit in the context of confrontation, which begins to inform our understanding of the consequences of confrontation in the real world. Future studies can be aimed at extending this knowledge to research that observes actual confrontation in the workplace, among acquaintances, or between strangers.

### **Future Directions**

As previously stated, future research can test the replicability of the implicit and explicit goal primes with face-to-face confrontation to test their impact on men's verbal and nonverbal behaviors as they relate to type of confrontation and interpersonal outcomes. Additionally, future research should be aimed at testing variations of assertive and non-assertive confrontations and their impact on a perpetrator's behavior and interpersonal outcomes. Finally, it is important to consider ways to foster majority-group members' tempered responses to confrontation for bias in real-world settings. Future research can test the ability of a more general intervention that facilitates majority-group members' ingratiating responses following confrontation in professional contexts.

### **Implications**

By understanding the role of goal pursuit in confrontation psychologists can begin to design and implement interventions that can be useful to both advantaged and disadvantaged group members. An intervention that influences the salience of goal to be liked could temper responses of potential perpetrators. For instance, in a professional setting, an organization that successfully creates an other-oriented climate (e.g., friendly,

inclusive), rather than a self-oriented climate (e.g., individual performance-driven), could help influence the way employees respond to each other when there is a confrontation for biased behavior. I would expect that perpetrators would be more likely to behave in an ingratiating manner when a friendly and inclusive environment is salient than compared to when an environment that promotes individual performance is salient.

Likewise, one benefit of confrontation is in its ability to be a mechanism for disadvantaged group members to assert themselves when they feel undermined (Kaiser & Miller, 2004). Thus, the hope is that a woman might be more willing to speak up when she knows that confrontation can actually lead to men's egalitarian goal pursuit and ingratiating responses. Furthermore, when a man is motivated to be liked, a woman who confronts him can expect that he might put effort into repairing the situation and that outcomes can be quite positive. To be certain, there are instances when confrontation can turn out poorly and a man might react harshly to the insinuation that he is sexist. The current research shows that, on average, when men concentrate on being liked they are motivated to engage in ingratiating compensation that can buffer even extremely awkward encounters.

APPENDIX A  
STUDY 1 MATERIALS

# STUDY 1 IMAGINED SCENARIO MORAL DILEMMA SCRIPT FOR EXPERIMENTER

*Prior to Participant's Arrival:*

1. Look at Study Log for PID and fill in information (PIDs are in the "100s").
2. Start computer in "back" room and open first Inquisit program "DEW Study 1\_A.exp"
3. Enter participant PID.
3. Turn off screen so participants can't see it when they arrive.
4. In study box, get 1 copy each of Informed Consent Form and Debriefing.
5. Repeat for each participant. Run one in each room. Set up participant in "back" room first.

*When participant arrives, verify his name and LUC ID, and show him to the computer.*

**"Hi, I'm \_\_\_\_\_. Today I'll be leading you through two tasks related to problem-solving. The first task involves imagining what it would be like to work on a project with a partner. The second task involves identifying words. Here is the informed consent form. Please read it over and let me know if you have any questions. Please sign and date at the bottom when you are finished."**

*Hand him informed consent form. Wait for him to give it back signed. Ask if he would like a copy for his records – if so, give him a copy with the debriefing at the end of the study.*

**"Great, thanks. I'll get you started with the first task."** *Turn on the screen.*

**"This might seem a little strange, but I'll be in the room right next door working on some homework, so when you're finished just knock on this wall twice and I'll come in to get you started on the next task. Also, if you have questions or issues with the program at any point, just knock and I'll come in. Keep in mind that it might take me a minute. Do you have any questions before we begin?"**

*If not, leave room and wait for knock. If participant is still in the back room when second participant gets to this point, warn "front" room participant that you may have to come in to assist the other participant and that he should try his best to just ignore the disturbance when you walk in and out.*

*After participant knocks...walk into room and make sure that he is on the final screen of the program. Press "control Q" to quit screen. Start DEW Study 1\_B.exp with appropriate PID.*

**“Ok, you can get started on the next task. You’ll be identifying words and non-words on the computer for a problem-solving task. Please make sure to read the instructions on the screen thoroughly. If you have questions, you can knock on the wall. Otherwise, just knock when you’re finished.**

*After participant knocks...walk into room and make sure that he is on the demographics screen. Press “control Q” to quit screen.*

**“Great. We’re all set. Thanks for participating in the study. Here is your debriefing form. Please make sure not to share the information on the sheet with any classmates or friends. It’s important that your experience in this study doesn’t influence the experiences of other students. Ok?”**

*Wait for nod or acknowledgement. Hand him debriefing form and a copy of the consent form if he wanted one. Repeat second half of the study for 2<sup>nd</sup> participant, if appropriate.*

**“Ok, thanks again. I’ll update your credit now.”**

STUDY 1 IMAGINED SCENARIOS  
(*Identical except for confrontation at the end*)

**Directions:** Please read the scenario carefully, and do your best to imagine yourself in the situation described.

*Imagine this...*

**You signed up to participate in a study on “Problem Solving With Others” and you know there is a possibility that you might be interacting with another student over instant message. When you arrive to Coffey Hall, you are greeted by the study director. You enter a small room containing a computer and desk. She asks you to take a seat.**

**She then explains:**

*“Today I’ll be leading you through two tasks related to problem-solving. The first task examines the nature of problem-solving using an instant message format, and you will work on two short projects using instant messaging. You’ll be interacting with another Loyola student, who is working remotely from the downtown campus.”*

**You look at the computer and notice that there are two instant message chat windows. One of them is with “Study Moderator” and the other is with “Participant 2”.**

**She continues:**

*“As you can see, there are two chat windows. One of them is me. I’m the ‘Study Moderator’. The other is your partner, which is the window marked ‘Participant 2’. You’re ‘Participant 1’. I will be sending you both start and stop prompts and specific instructions for the projects. I can’t see the private chat window between you and your partner, but I’ll be sending information to both of you.”*

**Then, the study director asks you to sign the consent form, which you do, and then she excuses herself to the room next door where she will provide further instructions. You wait patiently and a few minutes later you hear a “bing.” The “Study Moderator” has sent you the following instructions:**

**Study Moderator:** Your partner Kristen is ready to get started. This is a “getting to know you” exercise. Once you begin, you two should complete question 1 together, “Participant 2” (**the OTHER participant**) should take the lead on responding to question 2, and “Participant 1” (**YOU**) should take the lead on responding to question 3. However, you should come to a consensus on your group response, so you should feel free to give your opinion. Just so we can stay on track, I’ll be timing the interaction. I’ll let you know when you can start and stop. Please take a minute to read the instructions and let me know when you’re ready for the first question.

**Instructions:** We are interested in the variety of ways that people may interpret and respond to moral and ethical dilemmas. Please discuss each of the following scenarios with the other participant. After you have reached a decision about one way to respond to each scenario, please write a brief recommendation regarding on how you think the person involved should deal with the situation.

**You:** Ready for the first question.

**Study Moderator:** Ok. Scenario 1 -- A professor discovers a student has cheated on an exam. What would you recommend?"

**Your chat with your Participant 2, Kristen. You remember that you two are answering this scenario together:**

**You:** Hi. Well I think the student should probably receive a zero. That's usually the policy, right?

**Her:** Yeah, I think so. The punishment might also depend on whether the student has cheated before.

**You:** That's true. Ok...

**You:** Alright, so we'll combine that for our recommendation.

**Her:** Sounds good.

**Your chat with Study Moderator:**

**You:** Ok, ready for #2.

-----

**Study Moderator:** Scenario 2 -- A business executive discovers a long-time employee has been stealing from the company. What would you recommend?

**Your chat with your Participant 2, Kristen. You remember that it is HER turn to take the lead on this scenario:**

**Her:** Ok, well, that's a tough one. I think it depends on what was stolen. It could have been pens and pencils, you know? Or, maybe it was more serious, like a computer...or money?

**You:** Yeah.

**Her:** Alright, so I'll recommend that the executive should consider the situation before firing the employee.

**You:** That works.

**Your chat with Study Moderator:**

**You:** Ready for #3.

-----



**Study Moderator:** Scenario 3 -- A nurse discovers a hospital patient has been given blood contaminated with the AIDS virus. What would you recommend?

**Your chat with your Participant 2, Kristen. You remember that it is YOUR turn to take the lead on this scenario:**

**You:** Wow, that's really bad. I don't know. Maybe they should try to track down the nurse who gave the patient the bad blood. She should probably be fired...

*Response Men Read in the Sexist Confrontation Condition*

**Her:** Yeah. You know, I noticed that you said "she" when referring to the nurse. Are you assuming the nurse is female? That's kind of sexist, don't you think?

*Response Men Read in the Gender-Neutral Confrontation Condition*

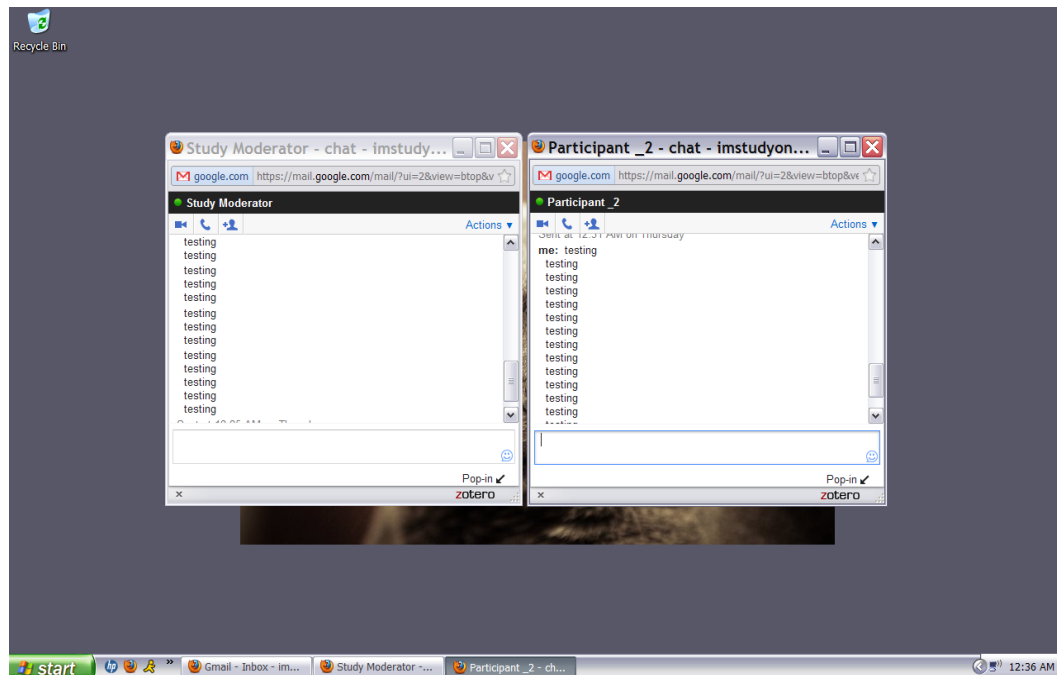
**Her:** Hmm, I don't know if that's such a good idea. There's got to be a better way. Do you think they should notify the patient first?

Filler Questions for Moral Dilemma

*Based on the scenario you just read, please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements on a scale from 1-not at all to 7-very much.*

	Not at all					Very Much	
The scenario was well written.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
I had a difficult time imagining the scenario	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

SCREEN SHOT OF INSTANT MESSAGE PROGRAM  
(From Participant's Perspective)



## STUDY 1 ACTUAL SCENARIO MORAL DILEMMA SCRIPT FOR EXPERIMENTER

*Prior to Participant's Arrival:*

1. Set up "Participant 1" ([imstudyone@gmail.com](mailto:imstudyone@gmail.com)) chat windows with "Study Moderator" and "Participant 2" using Gmail log-in on left-side computer in "front" room
  - a. Turn off the screen, and bring the mouse to the lab office
2. Look at Study Log for PID (always in the 200s) and set up Inquisit program "Study 2.exp" on other computer. Turn off monitor.
3. Set up "Study Moderator" ([imstudymod@gmail.com](mailto:imstudymod@gmail.com)) and "Participant 2" ([imstudytwo@gmail.com](mailto:imstudytwo@gmail.com)) Gmail accounts on computer in lab office. You will need to use two different internet formats (e.g., Internet Explorer and Firefox) so that you can be signed into both at the same time.

*When participant arrives, verify his name, and show him to the computer with the IM Windows open.*

**"Hi, I'm \_\_\_\_\_. Today I'll be leading you through two tasks related to problem-solving. The first is a study about problem-solving over an instant message program, and the second is a word identification task. Here is the informed consent form. Please read it over and let me know if you have any questions. Please sign and date at the bottom when you are finished."**

*Hand him informed consent form. Wait for him to give it back signed. Ask if he would like a copy for his records – if so, give him a copy with the debriefing at the end of the study.*

**"Great, thanks. I'll get you started with the first task. You'll complete a task that examines the nature of problem-solving using an instant message format, and you will work on a short project using instant messaging. You'll be interacting with another Loyola student, who is working remotely from the downtown campus."**

*Turn on the screen. "As you can see, there are two chat windows. One of them is me; I'm the "Study Moderator". The other is your partner.*

**I will be sending you both start and stop prompts and specific instructions for the projects. I can't see the private chat window between you and your partner, but I'll be sending information to both of you. Do you have any questions right now?**

*If he has questions, address them, then say...*

*To be said conversationally, DO NOT READ FROM SHEET: "Ok, great let's get started. For control purposes, we're using a computer without a mouse. That*

**way the researcher can be sure that participants can't be influenced by other things on the computer. So to toggle between chat windows, you'll press ALT + TAB. Please IM me if you have any problems with this and I can help you."**

*Give him Dilemma Task worksheet. "Here is the task you'll be working on. Please read the directions while I finish getting set up in the other room and make sure that the other participant is ready to go. I will start IMing in just a few minutes with further directions. Any questions at this point?"*

*If he has questions, answer them. If he asks who is with the other participant, say that there's a Study Moderator providing in-person directions at the other campus, but you're in charge of all of the online directions. Otherwise, go to lab office.*

*Document any questions that are not addressed here or seem important on the study log and email Dana.*

*SEE "STUDY MODERATOR SCRIPT"*

*After typing that there were technical difficulties, wait 30 seconds and enter room. Look at screen and make sure that participant DID NOT type a final response to the other participant. If he did, note it on the Study Log and email Dana.*

*To be said, not read (bumbling experimenter)...*

**Hi, I'm sorry about that. We've been having trouble with the wireless connection at Water Tower, so the Research Assistant over there is investigating the issue. In the mean time, I'll just have you move on to the next task. Would you mind moving to this computer? (gesture for him to move, turn on monitor)**

**You can follow the instructions on the screen. Please come get me if you're having any issues. In fact, I'm right next door, so you can just reach over and knock on the door when you're ready.**

*Before leaving the room, turn off other monitor.*

*Document any questions that are not addressed here or seem important on the study log and email Dana.*

*SEE "DEBRIEFING SCRIPT" FOR FINAL PROCEDURES*

## STUDY 1 MORAL DILEMMA TASK

## Dilemma Task

Instructions: We are interested in the variety of ways that people may interpret and respond to moral and ethical dilemmas. Please discuss each of the following scenarios with the other participant. After you have reached a decision about how you think the person involved should deal with the situation, you may move on to the next scenario.

You will be provided with further instructions from the Study Moderator via instant message. The boxes to the left indicate who should take the lead on responding to each scenario.

Together
----------

1. A professor discovers a student has cheated on an exam. What would you recommend?

Participant 2
---------------

2. A business executive discovers a long-time employee has been stealing from the company. What would you recommend?

Participant 1
---------------

3. A nurse discovers a hospital patient has been given blood contaminated with the HIV virus. What would you recommend?

STUDY 1 MORAL DILEMMA CHAT TEXT FOR STUDY MODERATOR  
*Study Moderator Script for Moral Dilemma Task*

**MORAL DILEMMA TASK**

*Send the following text to Participant\_1. Leave a sufficient amount of time in between so that he can read it. Keep in mind that he can't scroll up to previous instructions. He might ask you to repeat or clarify some things at a later time.*

Hi. It's \_\_\_\_\_.

We're ready to get started. Have you read the directions for the Dilemma Task?

Ok, great. This is a "getting to know you" exercise.

Once you begin, you two should complete question 1 together, "Participant 2" should take the lead on responding to question 2, and "Participant 1" should take the lead on responding to question 3.

However, you should come to a consensus on your group response.

You should spend no more than 12 minutes answering the three dilemmas. That means you'll have to move through each one quickly.

I'll be timing the interaction, so I'll let you know when you can start and stop. I'll also send reminders at 5 minutes and 10 minutes. Once 12 minutes is up you'll be expected to wrap things up quickly. At that point you should be done or finishing the third scenario.

Any questions about the first task or the time limit? *(Answer any questions)*

Great. You can get started now, I've started the timer. *(Start actual stopwatch.)*

Please feel free to introduce yourself to your partner first, though.

MARK START TIME ON POST-IT.

Time reminders:

Five minutes. You should be working on the second scenario.

Ten minutes. You should be working on the third scenario.

Ok, time is up. That's 12 minutes. Please finish up the third scenario.

*SEE "PARTICIPANT 2 SCRIPT"*

**INTERMITTENT IMs FROM PARTICIPANT**

*If he IMs with questions about the task, use the information above to formulate a response. If he is having issues with the chat windows or toggle feature, say...*

**Ok, I'm going to put the task on pause and come in to help you. I will let your partner know that I'm pausing the task.**

*Document any questions that are not addressed here or seem important on the study log and email Dana.*

**AFTER SIGNING OUT AS PARTICIPANT 2**

**I'm sorry. Hold on just a second. It looks like we're having technical difficulties.**

STUDY 1 MORAL DILEMMA CHAT TEXT PROMPTS AND  
RESPONSES FOR FEMALE PARTICIPANT  
*Participant 2 Script for Moral Dilemma Task*

Name: **Kristen**  
Hometown: **Kankakee, IL**  
Major: **Communications**  
Age: **19**  
Year: **Sophomore**  
Living off campus, in an apartment with friends

*Responses to introduction.*

**Hi...I'm Kristen.**

*Prompts to get started, if he doesn't initiate after 30 seconds or so.*

**Should we get started now?**

**I think we're supposed to work on the first one together, right?**

*Response to first moral dilemma scenario.*

**I think the student should be punished....but it might depend on whether this was the first time or not.**

**I think the punishment might also depend on whether the student has cheated before.**

*Response to second moral dilemma scenario.*

**Ok, so I think I'm supposed to take the lead on the next one.**

**Hmm, well...thats a tough one.**

**I think it depends on what was stolen. It could have been pens and pencils, you know?**

**Or, maybe it was more serious, like a computer...or money...?**

*(wait a few seconds to see if he responds)*

*(If he makes a suggestion...)*

**Yeah, good point.**

**Alright, so I think we should recommend that the executive should consider what was stolen before firing the employee.**

*(Wait 10 seconds or so to see if he starts typing. If not, say...)*

**Ok, we're on the last one. I think it's your turn.**



*(Allow him to type his response. If he does not mention what should happen to the nurse, say...)*

**What do you think should happen to the nurse?**

*(Allow him to respond)*

*For Condition A:*

**Hmm.**

**Well, I don't think that's a good idea.**

**There's got to be a better way. Don't you think they should notify the patient first?**

*OR if the participant's response says that we should notify the patient.*

**There's got to be a better way. Shouldn't the nurse face some sort of punishment?**

*For Condition B:*

**Yeah.**

**I noticed that you said "she" when referring to the nurse earlier.**

**Are you assuming the nurse is female? That's kind of sexist, don't you think?**

*(DO NOT WAIT FOR PARTICIPANT TO RESPOND. Instead, SIGN OUT OF G-CHAT)*

***IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU***

***SIGN OUT OF THE CHAT ON THE LEFT SIDE BAR AND NOT GMAIL  
ENTIRELY***

***SEE "STUDY MODERATOR SCRIPT"***

*"I'm sorry. Hold on just a second. It looks like we're having technical difficulties."*

*Document any comments or questions he asked that are that are not addressed here on the study log and email Dana giving details about how you dealt with it.*

STUDY 1 DEBRIEFING HANDOUT  
(For Imagined Scenario Participants Only)

Our research attempts to clarify how people form impressions of others and how those impressions guide their thoughts and behavior. In the study, some participants simply imagined an interaction with another participant and some actually completed a task over instant message with a partner. Then, all participants completed a word identification task. In the interaction portion, participants either imagined or experienced that they solved three moral dilemmas with a partner. This task used generic pronouns for professions such as “professor,” and “nurse.” Many people associate those professions with a particular gender and use gendered pronouns when referring to people in each profession. In the scenario, the “interaction partner” responded in a certain way during that portion of the study. If you were randomly assigned to the gender-relevant condition, you imagined that she confronted the participant as a potential sexist at the end of the dilemmas. If you were randomly assigned to the gender-irrelevant condition, you imagined that she confronted the participant on poor use of grammar or poor construction of an argument. Overall, we’re investigating how the two types of scenarios (imagined or actual instant messaging) might affect people’s responses after the situation. We hypothesize that people may feel more social pressure in certain situations (i.e., in the actual conversation versus the imagined), and that this experience will affect the types of words they identify in a subsequent task.

**We ask that you not discuss this experiment with other students, as that may bias individuals who may become participants in this study at a later time. If anyone asks about the study, just say that it was about how people problem-solve in various situations.**

If you have any questions regarding this particular research project or psychological research in general, please feel free to contact: Dr. Mallett, Psychology Department, (insert contact information). To learn more about intergroup relations and how people expect to react to potentially awkward interactions, please consult the following:

- Shelton, J.N. & Richeson, J.A. (2005). Intergroup contact and pluralistic ignorance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88, 91-107.
- Vorauer, J.D. & Kumhyr, S.M. (2001). Is this about you or me? Self vs. other directed judgments and feelings in response to intergroup interactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27, 706-719.
- Wilson, T.D. & Gilbert, D.T. (2003). Affective forecasting. In M.P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*, Vol. 35 (pp. 345-411). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

For information or questions regarding research ethics and guidelines, please contact: Office of Research Services, 6525 N. Sheridan Road, Granada Center, Suite 400, 773.508.2471, [ORS@luc.edu](mailto:ORS@luc.edu). Thank you for participating in our experiment!

STUDY 1 VERBAL FUNNEL DEBRIEFING SCRIPT  
*(For Actual Scenario Participants Only)*

Great, thanks. We're almost finished, but I do need to ask you a few questions. This will help us understand your experience in the study. First, we'd like to know what you think this study was looking at. (Give him *Debriefing: Part A*). Please read the question and briefly write a response.

Debriefing: Part A

If you had to guess, what would you say was the hypothesis in this study? In other words, what are the researchers trying to figure out?

Debriefing: Part B

*For Experimenter to Read Aloud and Fill Out*

Ok, thanks. I have a few more questions. I'll also give you some information about the research process and our topic of interest. It's very important that you share your true thoughts with me because it will really help our research to know about your experience.

First, what was your overall impression of the study?

A lot of people in psychology experiments are suspicious that we're hiding something from them or that we are looking at something other than what we said we were looking at. Were you suspicious at all? *[If yes, determine at what point and how bad it was]*

What did you think of your partner in this study? Just tell me your first general impression.

I know you answered this question in writing, but if you had to guess, what would you say this study was trying to figure out? What was our hypothesis?

Do you know if any of your friends or classmates have been in this study? Has anyone told you about it?

Are you currently taking any psychology courses? *(If so, "Which course or courses?")*

Think back to the scenario that you completed earlier in the session in which you interacted with a partner on a project. At the end of the scenario, what did the female participant say to you in the third moral dilemma? (Write what he says word for word; ask him to repeat, if necessary)

Okay, now I'd like to tell you a bit more about this study. I ask that you not share this information with any friends you have who might also participate in the study. Doing so could keep them from acting as they would if they had not heard the information. If they ask, just say we were looking at how people problem solve in various situations, okay? *[Make eye contact and get a head nod or verbal acknowledgement]*

Our research attempts to clarify how people form impressions of others and how those impressions guide their thoughts and behavior. In the study, some participants simply imagined an interaction with another participant and some actually completed a task over instant message with a partner. Then, all participants completed a word identification task.

In the interaction portion, participants either imagined or experienced that they solved three moral dilemmas with a partner. This task used generic pronouns for professions such as “professor,” and “nurse.” Many people associate those professions with a particular gender and use gendered pronouns when referring to people in each profession. Your interaction partner responded to you in a certain way during that portion of the study. If you were randomly assigned to the gender-relevant condition, she confronted you as a potential sexist at the end of the dilemmas. If you were randomly assigned to the gender-irrelevant condition, she confronted you on poor use of grammar or poor construction of an argument.

Furthermore, for participants who experienced the interaction, the instant message partner was a confederate working for our research team. I was providing responses as “Participant 2” during that portion of the study. We apologize for the deception and hope that you understand why it was necessary. We needed to hold the experience constant for all participants by providing similar responses during the discussions. Overall, we’re investigating how the two types of scenarios (imagined or actual instant messaging) might affect people’s responses after the situation. We hypothesize that people may feel more social pressure in certain situations (i.e., in the actual conversation versus the imagined), and that this experience will affect the types of words they identify in a subsequent task.

Do you have any questions about the study that you would like me to answer?  
*Remind them not to mention this study to anyone because it could ruin their experience.*

Thanks for helping with the study. I’ll update your credit now. *Hand him a copy of the consent form if he wanted one.*

	Not at all		Somewhat			Very Much	
Level of Suspicion	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	Not at all		Somewhat			Very Much	
Involvement in Study	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Comments:

APPENDIX B  
STUDY 2 MATERIALS

## STUDY 2 SENTENCE UNSCRAMBLING TASK

*Liking goal condition*

Instructions: For each set of words below, make a grammatical sentence and write it down in the space provided. For each set of words, there is **one** word that is not needed in the sentence.

For example: Flew eagle the plain around Answer: The eagle flew around

1. close can to Jane Adam feels

---

2. I to her get along considered wanted with

---

3. like I life outlook Rachel's

---

4. Peter sword occasionally television watches

---

5. I feel Joey comfortable guess with

---

6. sent I email it over letter

---

7. maintain others I get along to with want

---

8. Lisa friend Mary's wants story to be

---

9. sky Lauren is friend good a

---

10. eating like together I with friends

---

11. likes Joe really going jam

---

12. birds she with me cooperates

---

13. Christine feels Joey close guess to

---

14. I a smooth blimp interaction with want to have him

---

15. know to she travel wanted him with

---

16. friends enjoy flowers I new making

---

17. a Lauren is style cook bad

---

18. to Sally is Harry similar style

---

19. I relate that can to today

---

20. bond I with him picture want to

---

***Respect goal condition***

**Instructions:** For each set of words below, make a grammatical sentence and write it down in the space provided. For each set of words, there is **one** word that is not needed in the sentence.

For example: Flew eagle the plain around      Answer: The eagle flew around

1. confidence with Joe water leads

2. can has Jane place her earned

3. from success work comes trees hard

4. Peter sword occasionally television watches

5. people merit are judged on trees

6. Devon Jane thinks is picture smart

7. trains Dan accomplishment Ben's recognized

8. prosperity leads rabbit effort to

9. likes Joe really going jam

10. skilled he think is job at his

11. worked her for lovely promotion Ann

12. jump it deserve we really

13. sent I email it over letter

14. computer knowledgeable is Phil very

15. my he brown acknowledged expertise

16. a Lauren is style cook bad

17. Joe abilities his birds demonstrated

18. best man the win miser may

19. is chopstick Peter's talent admirable

20. pat back give tailored yourself a on the

STUDY 2 MORAL DILEMMA SCRIPT FOR EXPERIMENTER  
*Experimenter Script for Sentence Unscramble and Moral Dilemma Task*

*When participant arrives, verify his name, and show him to the study computer.*

**“Hi, I’m \_\_\_\_\_. Today I’ll be leading you through two tasks related to problem-solving. The first is a word unscrambling task and the second is about problem-solving over instant message. This study usually takes a full hour, so it’s important that we keep things moving to stay on schedule. Here is the informed consent form. Please read it over and let me know if you have any questions. Sign and date at the bottom when you are finished.”**

*Hand him appropriate informed consent form. Wait for him to give it back signed.*  
**“Would you like a copy for your records?”** *If so, give him a blank consent at the end of the study session.*

**“Ok, thanks. I’ll get you started with the first task.”** *Turn on computer screen.*

**“Please read the instructions on the screen carefully and since I’m right next door you can just reach over and knock on the wall when you’re finished.”**

*Leave the room. When he’s finished, enter room and verify that he completed the Inquisit program.*

BRING MOUSE
-------------

**“Thanks for doing that. Next, you’ll complete a task that examines the nature of problem-solving using an instant message format, and you will work on two short projects using instant messaging. You’ll be interacting with another Loyola student, who is working remotely from the downtown campus.”**

**“I’m going to quickly pull up the chat windows. Turn on mouse, pull up chat windows, then discretely turn off mouse and put mouse on your clipboard. “As you can see, there are two chat windows. One of them is me; I’m the “Study Moderator”. The other is your partner.”**

**“I will be sending you both start and stop prompts and specific instructions for the projects. I can’t see the private chat window between you and your partner, but I’ll be sending information to both of you. Do you have any questions right now?**

*Address any questions.*

*To be said conversationally, DO NOT READ FROM SHEET:* **“Ok, great let’s get started. For control purposes, participants aren’t using a mouse during this part of the study. That way the researcher can be sure that participants can’t be influenced by other things on the computer while chatting. So to toggle between chat windows, you’ll press ALT + TAB just like this. *SHOW HIM HOW*. Please IM me if you have any problems with this and I can help you.”**

*Give him Dilemma Task worksheet.*



**“Here is the first project. Please read the directions while I finish getting set up in the other room and make sure that the other participant is ready to go. I will start IMing in just a few minutes with further directions. Any questions at this point?”**

TAKE MOUSE

*If he asks who is with the other participant, say that there’s a Study Moderator providing in-person directions at the other campus, but you’re in charge of all of the online directions. Leave room.*

*SEE “STUDY MODERATOR SCRIPT”*

*AFTER DILEMMA TASK IS OVER – Enter study room.*

BRING MOUSE

**“Hi. How did that go?”** *Wait for answer.* **“Ok, great. Now you’ll answer a few questions about your impressions of the first project.”** *Minimize chat windows, pull up “Impressions\_Part\_1” Inquisit program.* **“Please knock on the wall when you’re finished.”**

TAKE MOUSE

## STUDY 2 MORAL DILEMMA TASK

***Respect goal condition instructions***

Instructions: We are interested in the variety of ways that people may interpret and respond to moral and ethical dilemmas. Please discuss each of the following scenarios with the other participant. After you have reached a decision about how you think the person involved should deal with the situation, you may move on to the next scenario.

*Focus on demonstrating your knowledge by clearly communicating your thoughts, ideas, and opinions. Being respected by your partner should be your primary objective.* The boxes to the left indicate who should take the lead on responding to each scenario.

***Liking goal condition instructions***

Instructions: We are interested in the variety of ways that people may interpret and respond to moral and ethical dilemmas. Please discuss each of the following scenarios with the other participant. After you have reached a decision about how you think the person involved should deal with the situation, you may move on to the next scenario.

*Focus on making a good impression on your partner by getting to know your partner's thoughts, ideas, and opinions. Being liked by your partner should be your primary objective.* The boxes to the left indicate who should take the lead on responding to each scenario.

***Moral Dilemma Questions***

Together
----------

1. A professor discovers a student has cheated on an exam. What would you recommend?

Participant 2
---------------

2. A business executive discovers a long-time employee has been stealing from the company. What would you recommend?

Participant 1
---------------

3. A nurse discovers a hospital patient has been given blood contaminated with the HIV virus. What would you recommend?

STUDY 2 MORAL DILEMMA CHAT TEXT FOR STUDY MODERATOR  
*Study Moderator Script for Moral Dilemma Task*

*Send the following text to Participant\_1. Leave a sufficient amount of time in between so that he can read it. Keep in mind that he can't scroll up to previous instructions. He might ask you to repeat or clarify some things at a later time.*

**Hi. It's \_\_\_\_\_.**

**We're ready to get started. Have you read the directions for the Dilemma Task?**

**Ok, great. This is a "getting to know you" exercise.**

**Condition A:**

**Your instructions are to focus on making a good impression on your partner by getting to know your partner's thoughts, ideas, and opinions.**

**Condition B:**

**Your instructions are to focus on demonstrating your knowledge by clearly communicating your thoughts, ideas, and opinions.**

**Once you begin, you two should complete question 1 together, "Participant 2" should take the lead on responding to question 2, and "Participant 1" should take the lead on responding to question 3.**

**However, you should come to a consensus on your group response.**

**You should spend no more than 12 minutes answering the three dilemmas. That means you'll have to move through each one quickly.**

**I'll be timing the interaction, so I'll let you know when you can start and stop. I'll also send reminders at 5 minutes and 10 minutes. Once 12 minutes is up you'll be expected to wrap things up quickly. At that point you should be done or finishing the third scenario.**

**Any questions about the first task or the time limit? *(Answer any questions)***

**Great. You can get started now, I've started the timer. *(Start actual timer.)***

**Please feel free to introduce yourself to your partner first, though.**

*SEE "PARTICIPANT 2 SCRIPT"*

**MARK START TIME ON POST-IT. SET TIMER FOR 5 Minutes**

**Five minutes. You should be working on the second scenario.**

SET TIMER FOR 5 Minutes

**Ten minutes. You should be working on the third scenario.**

WAYS TO END THE CHAT

SET TIMER FOR 2 Minutes (Use when participant is finished typing his response and timer goes off)

**Ok, time is up. STOP TYPING NOW.**

IF TIMER GOES OFF AND PARTICIPANT IS STILL TYPING

**30 second warning. Please wrap your final thoughts and I will be in shortly.**

IF PARTICIPANT RESPONDS AND THERE IS A LOT OF TIME LEFT

-Mock a response as Participant 2 (i.e., start typing, but do not send)

-Turn off electronic timer and use round timer to create an alarm sound

**Ok, time is up. STOP TYPING NOW.**

INTERMITTENT IMs FROM PARTICIPANT

*If he IMs with questions about the task, use the information above to formulate a response. If he is having issues with the chat windows or toggle feature, say...*

**Ok, I'm going to put the task on pause and come in to help you. I will let your partner know that I'm pausing the task.**

*Document any questions that are not addressed here or seem important on the study log and email Dana.*

## STUDY 2 TOPIC LIST

**Instructions:** Loyola University Chicago is facing a budget crisis. Consequently, the University has been asked to reduce spending by 10% over the next 10 years. We would like to investigate what programs and aspects of college life the students value most. Please read the four topics below and think about whether each should have priority in regards to funding and why. When answering why, try to connect the topic to larger issues at LUC.

### **Food in the dining halls**

The University allocates a great deal of money toward the research and development of food menus that will be served in the dining halls at both campuses. However, many students report low satisfaction and few improvements with the food service during their time at LUC. Given the budget changes, the money could be spent in different areas. Consider the extent to which the food in dining halls should continue to receive its funding, and discuss this issue as it relates to quality of life for students who live on campus.

### **Study abroad**

LUC students have a unique opportunity that many other colleges do not offer. The University has two established campuses; one is in Rome, Italy and the other is in Beijing, China. Students can receive financial aid to support studying abroad. Faculty members can also receive special funding to develop classes to teach at these international campuses. Some members of administration question whether this funding is necessary. Consider the extent to which funding should continue to be allocated toward supporting students and faculty in the programs abroad, and discuss this issue as it related to the University goals of student education.

### **Sports**

LUC struggles to fund separate sporting groups for men and women on campus (e.g., both women's and men's basketball teams). The government passed Title 9 in 1972, which is a law that requires high schools and colleges to equally fund programs for both genders. Though LUC is a private school, it also aspires to treat both genders equally. Given the limited budget, consider the extent to which LUC may consider funding either women's or men's sports.

### **Student organizations**

Each year, there is controversy about which student organizations should receive money from the University. In particular, there is ongoing debate about the extent to which the University should fund organizations that serve small groups of people, such as the Feminist Forum (focuses on issues specific to women and women's issues on campus) versus organizations that serve large groups of people, such as Evoke (coordinates volunteer opportunities on campus and in the Chicago community). Consider the extent to which funding should be allocated to student organizations that focus on a small group versus on organizations that focus on a broader audience, and discuss this issue as it relates to quality of life for students who live on campus.

## STUDY 2 TOPIC LIST SCRIPT FOR EXPERIMENTER

*Experimenter Script for Moral Dilemma Questionnaire and Topic List Conversation*

**BRING MOUSE** *Once he is done, enter room.* **“Thanks for doing that. Now we’ll get set up for the second project. We have a list of potential topics that you’ll be discussing with the other participant for 10 minutes. There probably isn’t time to get to them all, so we find that it works best if one of you is sort of ‘in charge’ of what you talk about.”**

*To be said conversationally, DO NOT READ FROM SHEET:* **“So, this cup (show him cup) contains pieces of paper with the numbers “1” and “2” written on them. You’ll represent number “1” since you’re Participant 1 for the task. Does that sound ok?”**

**“Great. Please pick a number.” (hand him cup). “Which number did you pick?” (wait for response).**

**“Ok, so that means Participant 2 will pick which two topics you will focus on. I will ask her to pick two after you’ve both had the chance to read them over.”**

*Hand him Topic List.* **“You can start reading through the topics and I will pull up the chat windows.”**

*Turn on mouse. Pull up chat windows, and insert periods into the Participant 2 chat window to move the conversation up. Turn off mouse. If he asks why you are inserting the periods, say that “We just find that it’s easier to create a break between the two tasks.”*

**“Ok, please finish reading and I will IM you in a few minutes. At that point I can let you know which topics you’ll focus on and provide any further instructions. Do you have any questions about what you should be doing?”**

**TAKE MOUSE**

*Answer any questions and then excuse yourself to the lab office.*

*SEE “STUDY MODERATOR SCRIPT”*

*If anything unusual comes up during this time, please write it in the log and email Dana.*

**BRING MOUSE** *AFTER 12 MINUTE CONVERSATION IS OVER -- Enter study room.*

**How did that go? (wait for response) Good, well, now I’d like you to answer some questions about how that project went.**

*Turn on mouse. CLOSE OUT chat windows, and pull up Inquisit “Impressions\_Part\_2” file. Enter PID and start. Leave mouse, but take paper Dilemma Task and Topic List with you. He will be asked to recall the instructions on his own.*

**You'll need the mouse for the next task, so I'm leaving it here for you. Please knock on the wall if you have any questions or if you're finished.**

**LEAVE MOUSE**

**TAKE PAPER TASKS**

---

*Once he is done, enter room for debriefing.*

*SEE "DEBRIEFING SCRIPT"*

STUDY 2 TOPIC LIST CHAT TEXT FOR STUDY MODERATOR  
*Study Moderator Script for Topic List Conversation*

*Send the following text to Participant\_1. Leave a sufficient amount of time in between so that he can read it. Keep in mind that he can't scroll up to previous instructions.*

**Hi. It's \_\_\_\_.**

**Have you had the chance to read over the topics?**

**Ok, great. Your partner has chosen to discuss #1 - food in the dining halls and #2 - student organizations.**

**If there's still time after you've discussed those two topics, you should feel free to move on to the remaining two topics.**

**Condition A:**

**As with the first project, your instructions are to focus on making a good impression on your partner by getting to know your partner's thoughts, ideas, and opinions.**

**Condition B:**

**As with the first project, your instructions are to focus on demonstrating your knowledge by clearly communicating your thoughts, ideas, and opinions.**

**Any questions?** *If he has any questions, formulate your response based on the task instructions. If he has a question that is not addressed above, please note it in the log and email Dana explaining how you responded.*

**Ok. This time you have 10 minutes. I will IM you both at 5 minutes and 10 minutes. Please stop typing at the 10 minute mark.**

**SET TIMER FOR 5 Minutes**

**FIVE minutes. You have 5 minutes left.**

**SET TIMER FOR 5 Minutes**

**Ok, that's 10 minutes. STOP TYPING, PLEASE.**

**I will get you started on the next task in just a minute.**

**INTERMITTENT IMs FROM PARTICIPANT**

*If he IMs with questions about the task, use the information above and from "EXPERIMENTER SCRIPT" to formulate a response. If he is having issues with the chat windows or toggle feature, say...*



**Ok, I'm going to put the task on pause and come in to help you. I will let your partner know that I'm pausing the task.**

*Document any questions that are not addressed here or seem important on the study log and email Dana.*

*SEE "EXPERIMENTER SCRIPT"*

STUDY 2 TOPIC LIST CHAT TEXT PROMPTS AND  
RESPONSES FOR FEMALE PARTICIPANT  
*Participant 2 Script for Topic List Conversation*

*General instructions: As Participant 2, you will give neutral responses to the topics. That is, you will not express extreme views. You should also allow Participant 1 to give his responses to the topics first, unless he prompts you to start. Keep an eye on the time. Also, try to keep the conversation on topic. If he veers too far off topic, use one of the appropriate prompts. Remember, this is a conversation, so do your best to make it appear natural. You will use the following responses as a guide to shape your answers, but you should respond in ways that appear natural (e.g., answer his questions, express laughter at jokes, ask him questions to reciprocate interest when he asks you questions about yourself or your opinion).*

*Wait 10-15 seconds to see if the participant starts the conversation. If not...*

*Prompts to start Topic List Project*

**Hi, I think we can get started now...?**

**Did you have a chance to read the topics?**

*(If he indicates that he didn't read the topic, suggest that you both take a second to read the first one.)*

**Ok, me neither. Let's read over the first one really fast**

**Are you ready?**

**Cool. Ok, then should we get started?**

*Prompts for Food in the Dining Halls* *(allow him to ask questions, but if you think there are long silences or you are asking questions to reciprocate his questions, you can use these...)*

**Do you eat in the dining halls a lot?**

**Which dining halls do you go to?**

**Do you like the food?**

**Do you think we should cut funding to the dining halls?**

*Responses for Food in the Dining Halls*

**I'm a sophomore, so I don't have to have a meal plan**

**I have that flex-spending plan, so I use Rambler Bucks**

**I go to Rambler Room and Baumhart most often**

**The food is pretty expensive, that's one down side**

**There are a lot of options, but sometimes I wish there was more healthy food, besides salad**

**If anything, it looks like they are understaffed sometimes. The lines can get pretty long...**

*(Do not give these responses until he gives his opinion; prompt him for his opinion if you are running out of time)*

**(I agree.) I don't think we should cut funding to the dining halls**

**So maybe they shouldn't cut funding, but they should re-evaluate how funds are being used**

*Prompts for Student Organizations (again, allow him to ask questions, but if you think there are long silences or you are asking questions to reciprocate his questions, you can use these...)*

**Ok, should we move on to student organizations?**

*(If he said he didn't read the topics...)*

**Let's read over this one really quickly**

**Are you ready?**

**Are you part of a student organization?**

**Which one?**

**Do you like it?**

**Do you guys have any fundraisers?**

**Do you think funding should be cut to groups with a smaller focus?**

*Responses for Student Organizations*

**I'm part of a global justice group....we only have like 5 members**

**Last year we raised money to send mosquito nets to Africa. They make a huge difference in preventing the spread of malaria**

**So, it's not a big group, but we do have a larger focus**

*(If he asks if you're part of the Feminist Forum)*

**No, I'm not a member of the Feminist Forum, but I think it's important to support smaller groups**

*(Do not give this response until he gives his opinion; prompt him for his opinion if you are running out of time)*

**I don't think we should cut funding to smaller groups just because they have a small focus**

**But we should take into account how they are using the funds that they are given**

**Like, if groups are using the money to throw a party versus outreach to get more members**

## STUDY 2 SELF-REPORT MEASURES

*Items reflecting Interpersonal Outcomes and Egalitarian Goals  
after the Topic List Conversation (Time 2)*

Instructions: Please be as honest as possible when answering these questions. Remember that all of your answers are confidential and your partner will never see your responses. Think about each of these statements in terms of what \*ACTUALLY HAPPENED\* with your partner. Select the number from the following scale that best represents your evaluation of the statement.

Use the arrow keys to choose your response and press "Enter" to move to the next page.  
Scale = 1 *not at all* to 11 *very much*

The conversation went well.
I liked the other participant.
The other participant liked me.
I'd like to get to know the other participant better in the future.
I successfully communicated my thoughts and ideas.
I was able to gain the respect of the other participant.
I tried my best not to stereotype my partner.
I put effort into treating my partner fairly.
I was concerned about offending my partner.

*Demographic Items (Time 2)*

Instructions: You are almost finished. We would like to ask you a few background questions.

Age: type 2 digits

Gender:

☐ Male

☐ Female

Ethnicity:

☐ Hispanic or Latino

☐ Not Hispanic or Latino

☐ Unknown

Race:

☐ American Indian/Alaska Native

☐ East Asian

☐ South Asian

☐ Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander

☐ Black or African American

☐ White

☐ More than one race - Black/White

☐ Other, Specify \_\_\_\_\_

## STUDY 2 CODING SCHEMES

*Coding Scheme for Men's Immediate Reactions to Confrontation (Time 1)*

**1. Behavioral Reactions:** Immediately following the confrontation, does the participant demonstrate the following reactions? **Scale = 0 not at all to 2 very much**

<b>Surprise</b> (or taken aback; uses exclamation points to express reaction)	0	1	2
<b>Denial</b> (e.g., denial of her position/accusation; thinks what she said is false or baseless)	0	1	2
<b>Apology</b> (did he actually apologize? How apologetic was he? If he apologizes but doesn't seem sincere = 1; if he apologizes and does seem sincere = 2)	0	1	2
<b>Justify</b> (e.g., attempts to provide a reason for his response or restate his point)	0	1	2
<b>Tries to demonstrate competence</b> (presents a fact to show that he knows what he is talking about; tries to appear smart; possibly comments on own accomplishments/knowledge to show that he is correct)	0	1	2
<b>Expresses concern over offending partner/getting along</b>	0	1	2
<b>Antagonize</b> (makes a comment to be snarky or sarcastic; seems like his intent is to lash out at her for questioning him)	0	1	2
<b>Eases tension</b> (makes a joke or comment in order to make up for awkwardness)	0	1	2

**2. Overall Tone:** What is the overall tone of the participant's reaction?  
**Scale = 0 not at all to 2 very much**

<b>Certainty</b> (in terms of his task performance; certain of his response and point of view, not necessarily argumentative; doesn't ask the partner for her point of view following his response)	0	1	2
<b>Respect-seeking</b> (respect = power, status, competence; he tried to gain his partner's respect by demonstrating his knowledge and abilities; seems like it is important to him to appear powerful and competent)	0	1	2
<b>Argumentative/disagreeable</b> (disagrees with partner's ideas or challenges partner in an argumentative way)	0	1	2
<b>Seeks liking with partner</b> (liking = nice, concern for partner, friendly; he tried to make a good impression on his partner and seemed to be concerned about his partner's thoughts, ideas, and opinions; tried make his partner like him)	0	1	2
<b>Overall, what vibe did you get from his response?</b>			
<b>Rejecting</b> (e.g., hostile, denial of his bias/inadequate response, rejection of her position, defensive)	0	1	2
<b>Accepting</b> (e.g., acknowledgement of bias/inadequacy of response, acknowledgement of other side of the argument, understanding)	0	1	2

***Coding Scheme for Topic List Conversation (Time 2)***

**1. Overall Tone:** What is the overall tone of the participant's reaction?

**Scale = 0 not at all to 2 very much**

<b>Certainty</b> (in terms of his task performance; certain of his response and point of view, not necessarily argumentative; doesn't ask the partner for her point of view following his response)	0	1	2
<b>Respect-seeking</b> (respect = power, status, competence; he tried to gain his partner's respect by demonstrating his knowledge and abilities; seems like it is important to him to appear powerful and competent)	0	1	2
<b>Argumentative/disagreeable</b> (disagrees with partner's ideas or challenges partner in an argumentative way)	0	1	2
<b>Seeks liking with partner</b> (liking = nice, concern for partner, friendly; he tried to make a good impression on his partner and seemed to be concerned about his partner's thoughts, ideas, and opinions; tried make his partner like him)	0	1	2
<b><i>Overall, what vibe did you get from his response?</i></b>			
<b>Rejecting</b> (e.g., hostile, denial of his bias/inadequate response, rejection of her position, defensive)	0	1	2
<b>Accepting</b> (e.g., acknowledgement of bias/inadequacy of response, acknowledgement of other side of the argument, understanding)	0	1	2

**2. Outcomes:** To what extent to you agree that the following statements reflect your impressions of how the conversation went? **Scale = 0 strongly disagree to 4 strongly agree**

<b>The participant liked the confederate</b> (he likes her as a person)	0	1	2	3	4
<b>I like the participant</b> (your personal feelings about him)	0	1	2	3	4
<b>The participant made an effort to engage the confederate in conversation</b> (he asked her questions and seems to be engaged)	0	1	2	3	4
<b>The participant tried to find common ground in terms of opinion</b>	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Overall, the discussion went well (your opinion)</b>	0	1	2	3	4

**3. Rating the confederate's behavior.** To what extent do you agree that "Participant\_2" demonstrates these behaviors? **Scale = 0 strongly disagree to 4 strongly agree**

<b>Guiding the discussion</b> (is Participant 2 taking charge or leading the conversation?)	0	1	2	3	4
<b>Questions directed toward participant</b> (does Participant 2 ask lot of questions?)	0	1	2	3	4

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